Vol. XL. No. 158 *June 1951*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Mother and Child Service .... *Edward J. Coyne*

II. Mother and Child Service: the Medical Problem .... *John F. Cunningham*

III. Mother and Child Service: the Problem of Finance .... *Alexis FitzGerald*

IV. Mr. Blanshard: Freedom and Catholic Power .... *Joseph Crehan*

V. Two Views on Spain .... *George A. Kolkhorst*

VI. National Income and Expenditure ..... *James Meenan*

VII. Impressions of Rome and Italy ..... *John Murray*

VIII. Newman and his University .... *Denis Gwynn*

IX. Tercentenary of a Pioneer in Education *Liam Ó Ruairc*

X. Irish Bardic Poems: No. 98 ..... *Lambert MacKenna*

XI. Brough's Campaign: Tyrellspass ..... *M. Ó Báille*

XII. Reviews of Books

The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd
89 Talbot Street • Dublin

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street • Dublin

Single Copies - - - - 4s. net
Annual Subscription - Ireland and England - 17s. net
Annual Subscription - All Other Countries - 18s. net

Subscriptions are payable in advance

Colάiste na h-Iolscoile, Scaillim

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i nGaedilge le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar Laidin, Gréigis, Riomhaireacht, Tíreolaíocht, Stair, Seandálaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cuntasaíocht, Geilleagar, Oideachas, Fisic Thurgnamach, Ceimic, Luib-eolas, Fisic Matamaitic, agus Filosofaideacht.

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mBéarla le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ag gach Dáimh léiginn dá mbaineann le loirgoil Náisiúnta na h-Éireann.

Tairgeann an Colάiste Scoláireacha coitchiannta ar fiú £2,100 sa mbliadain agus ten a coir sin cuiteal £1,350 i n-áitreabh gach bliadain le h-agaid Scoláireacht do Gaedilgeoiri ar an nGaedealtacht.

Tairgeann an Roinn Oideachair Roinnt Scoláireacht gach bliadain. Is fiú £150 an bliadain gach ceann aca. Na Micléiginn ar a mbronnfar na Scoláireachta seo, ní mór dóib a beit 'na Micléiginn sa gColáiste seo.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labairt na Gaedilge do cleachtad taob istigh agus taob amuigh den Colάiste.

Tuilleam eolais le fagáil ó Meadhánaide an Colάiste.

PROVIDENCE WOOLLEN MILLS

FOXFORD, CO. MAYO, IRELAND

Offer the greatest variety of pure woollen goods ever produced by an Irish mill–viz. Blankets, Rugs, Ladies' and Men's Wear, Scarves, etc.

INQUIRIES SOLICITED

Telephone No.: "Foxford 4."
Telegraphic Address: "Providence, Foxford."

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Incorporated in Ireland

ESTABLISHED 1825

CAPITAL subscribed	-	**£2,000,000**
Paid-up	-	**£500,000**
RESERVE FUND	-	**£750,000**

HEAD OFFICE

COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

SEVEN DUBLIN BRANCHES

Over One Hundred Branches and Sub-Branches throughout Ireland

The Bank undertakes the Recovery and Adjustment of INCOME TAX
The Bank also undertakes the Offices of EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE

LONDON AGENTS

LLOYDS BANK LTD., 72 LOMBARD ST., LONDON, E.C.3.

Coláiste Ollscoile, Corcaigh.

(Ollscoil na h-Éireann)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

Lán-Cúrsaí i Scóip Céimeann agus Daránta inr na h-aonaid seo:—

Arts	*Celtic Studies*	*Medicine*	*Dentistry*
Science	*Law*	*Education*	*Commerce*
	Engineering	*Dairy Science*	*Music*

Is féidir Cúrsaí Áirithe do Déanamh tré Gaeilg.

Chun lán-eolas ar Scoláireachtaí agus ar Chúrsaí d'Fhágáil, ní foláir gach leitir do Feóladh chun an CLÁRADÓRA.

Oideachadh compóirdeach le fagáil san **HONAN HOSTEL** ag fearaibh Caitliceacha agus i **LA RETRAITE** ag mnáibh Caitliceacha. Cuairfidh iomlán oiread san le fagáil ó'n **Scoimeádaidhe** agus ó'n **Aoibhéadair** fé seach. Is féidir fheirm liosta de lóistíbh ceadaithe d'fhágáil ach a lorg ó **Rúnaidhe** an Choláiste.

Some Courses can be taken through the medium of Irish.

For particulars as to Scholarships and Courses all communications should be addressed to the **Registrar.**

Comfortable accommodation is provided for Catholic men in the HONAN HOSTEL and for Catholic women in LA RETRAITE. Particulars may be obtained from the **Warden** and **Rev. Superioress** respectively. A list of approved Lodgings can also be had from the **Secretary** of the College.

THE

NATIONAL CITY BANK

LIMITED

•

Offers to the public a complete Banking Service

•

CURRENT AND DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. HOME SAFES FOR THRIFT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. BILLS DISCOUNTED. EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE BUSINESS.

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, PLATE GLASS, MOTOR, &c., &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000

DIRECTORS

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A., Chairman
Rt. Hon. EARL OF WICKLOW
Major T. D. HALLINAN
F. CYRIL MARTIN
T. H. CORRIGAN, Managing Director
J. G. MILLIGAN, Secretary

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

Proposal Form and all Information on application to Company's Agents or to the Company

This could be YOUR house. Little things neglected often result in big tragedies ; and fires arise from most unexpected sources—and at most unexpected times. Are YOU prepared for such an eventuality? Or would its occurrence ruin you financially? Save yourself unnecessary trouble and worry by insuring your property with a company of sound financial standing—an Irish Office

The

HIBERNIAN

FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

46-49 *DAME STREET, DUBLIN*

O'Keeffe's

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

Clongowes Wood College

NAAS, CO. KILDARE

The College is situated about eighteen miles from Dublin, in the midst of extensive and well-wooded grounds of over six hundred acres in extent, of which large portions have been laid down for Cricket, Tennis, Football and other outdoor games. It is conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, and the system of education is based on those sound Catholic principles which have directed Jesuit education during four centuries.

Boys are prepared for the Universities, Professions and Commerce by way of the examinations of the Department of Education, Matriculation, Solicitors' Preliminary, and other examinations.

Very extensive additions to the Buildings have been made. These include large and airy dormitories, giving each boy a spacious cubicle with running water (h. & c.), fourteen large, well-lighted class-rooms, science halls, study hall, etc.—all equipped in the most modern manner.

The Junior boys, from the age of ten, have their own study, playrooms, playing fields and dormitories. They receive special attention from the Matron who is a fully qualified nurse.

For terms apply REV. RECTOR, S.J.

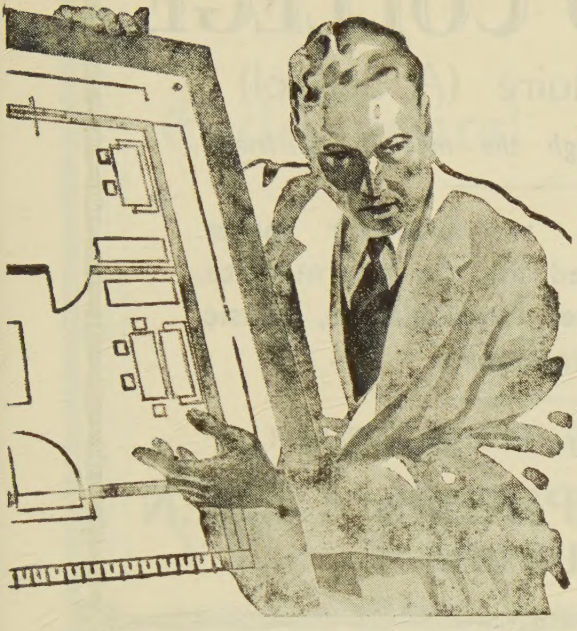
MUNGRET COLLEGE

LIMERICK

Under the care of
the Jesuit Fathers

For Terms Etc. apply to—

THE RECTOR



Your best plan for

BUILDING . . .

At O'Hara's you can select from the finest range of Sanitary Fittings and Architectural Ironmongery. Alongside we list some of our stock, but why not visit our showrooms and see the full range for yourself ?

O'Hara's
OF LINCOLN PLACE

J. J. O'HARA & CO., LTD.
29/31 Lincoln Place, Dublin. 'Phone 61576

- **Terrazzo**
- **Mosaic**
- **Wood Block Flooring**
- **Ruboleum**
- **Floor & Wall Tiling**
- **Plumbing & Sanitary Installations**
- **Tiled Fireplaces**
- **Heat Storage Cookers**
- **Locks & Door Furniture**
- **Sliding Door Gear**
- **Electrical Fittings**
- **Refrigerators**
- **S.S. Kitchen Equipment**
- **Paints, Varnishes, Distempers**
- **Permacem**
- **Sealantone**
- **Hobbs Hart :— Locks, Safes, Strong Room Doors**

Padbury

LORETO COLLEGE

Coláiste Muire (A School)

All Subjects through the medium of Irish

Central heating. :: Outdoor games.
Pupils are prepared for the Intermediate, Leaving Certificate, Matriculation, Music, and other Examinations.

For terms apply—MOTHER SUPERIOR

53 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN
DUBLIN

Stained Glass Artists
Sculptors
Church Decorators

EARLEY & CO.

Camden Art Studios

UPPER CAMDEN STREET
DUBLIN

TELEPHONE 51303 ESTABLISHED 100 YEARS

Ecclesiastical Vestments

WE are specialists in the manufacture of Ecclesiastical Vestments and invite your enquiries when next you require either inexpensive or the most elaborate Vestments, Benediction Copes, Dalmatics, Canopea, Processional Canopies, Processional and Sodality Banners, etc. All classes of Altar Linens, Clerical Stocks and Birettas.

MARY FORREST LTD.

47 HENRY STREET

(Over Williams & Co.)

DUBLIN

PHONE NO. 70119

THE
CLARENCE HOTEL

The
City's Most Modern Hotel

WELLINGTON QUAY
DUBLIN

Telephone : 76178 - 79 - 80

O'KEEFFE'S

BELVEDERE COLLEGE
DUBLIN

Day School under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers

I. PREPARATORY SCHOOL for Boys between the Ages of Eight and Twelve.

II. INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL, where Boys between the Ages of Twelve and Eighteen are prepared for the Certificate Examinations and the Matriculation, N.U.I.

For PROSPECTUS apply to **THE RECTOR**
Interviews by appointment.

THE DUBLIN REVIEW

Founded in 1836

By

Cardinal Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell

Readers of STUDIES will be glad to know that this venerable quarterly has recently taken on a new lease of life and is once more establishing itself as an authoritative organ of opinion in the fields of philosophy, history and literature. A limited number of free specimen copies are available to *Bona Fide* enquirers.

Obtainable at :

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE LTD.
21/22 D'Olier Street, Dublin.

or direct from the Publishers :

BURNS OATES & WASHBOURNE LTD.
28 Ashley Place, London, S.W.1.

Price 6/- per copy or 21/- for four issues.

BOOKS OF RELIGIOUS INTEREST

from

An Gúm

cúrsa simplíde sa chreideamh

An Irish version by Michéal Ó Cionnfhaolaidh of the book *A Simple Course of Religion* by the late Most Rev. Dr. M. Sheehan, Archbishop of Germia. Teachers and parents will find it an invaluable aid in the teaching of religious knowledge to the young.

ILLUSTRATED

2s. 0d. net.

stair an bíobla

(*In three vols.*)

An early 18th century original work by a Connacht priest (Walter O'Kelly) on the Bible, in which the whole Bible story is told. Edited from the author's MS. This work is an excellent example of Irish literary prose, and indispensable to writers and students of Irish.

vol. I, 3/- vol. II, 3/6 vol. III, 4/-

OBTAINABLE THROUGH ANY BOOKSELLER OR DIRECT FROM

FOILSEACHAIN RIALTAIS

3—4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN.

The

Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FIVE SHILLINGS

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

An Important Book

NEWMAN'S UNIVERSITY

Idea and Reality

By

REV. FERGAL McGRATH, S.J.

So widely discussed at the moment is the problem of the nature and work of a university that it is surprising to find that, so far, the background to the only classic in the English tongue on this subject has not received more attention. To those who know only Wilfrid Ward's account of the years at the Catholic University of Ireland during which Newman evolved the principles of 'The Idea of a University,' this part of his life must seem a disappointing and unfruitful time.

Father McGrath, however, in a work of great scholarship, now illumines these years with a new light. He has had access to a great amount of unpublished material in the archives of the Birmingham Oratory, including private correspondence, diaries and memoranda of Newman's, and has also used manuscript and printed accounts of education in Ireland by various other authors. His researches bring to life the world in which Newman tried to translate his vision of a University into practice and the conflict of theory and fact in a pioneer experiment, whereby his tentative ideas were forged into shape.

This is essentially a new contribution to our knowledge of Newman, and will hardly be surpassed as an investigation of the Irish educational problems of the 1850's, and of how, through Newman, they affected university reform in England. It is a fine, original work, which will give pleasure to all who value Newman's idea of 'liberal education,' and who recognise the inspired greatness of his dream of a university which should be 'a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, an Alma Mater of the rising generation.'

30/- *nett*

BROWNE AND NOLAN, LIMITED

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

BOOK OF MAC CÁRTHAIGH RIABHACH, otherwise BOOK OF LISMORE. Facsimile. Introd. by R. A. S. Macalister. Pp. xxxvii + 198 ff. collotype. ... £10

REGISTER OF TRISTERNAGH. Ed. M. V. Clarke. Valuable mediæval record relating to Westmeath ... 10s. 6d.

EXTENTS OF IRISH MONASTIC POSSESSIONS, 1540-41. Ed. Newport B. White £1 1s.

PARLIAMENTS AND COUNCILS OF MEDIAEVAL IRELAND. Ed. H. G. Richardson, and G. O. Sayles. Mediaeval documents, with introd. on the nature of parliamentary institutions in Ireland. £1 5s.

ACTA SANCTORUM HIBERNIAE. By John Colgan, O.F.M. Facsimile of the Louvain publication of 1645. Folio. Pp. iv+23+936 ... ... £6 6s.

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS. Ed. Rev. Stanislaus Kavanagh, O.F.M.Cap. Vol. I: £1. Vol. II: £1 10s. Vol. III: £1 10s. Vol. IV: £1 5s. Vol. V: £2 2s. Vol. VI. History of the MS. by the Editor; English synopsis and index by N. B. White ... ... £1 5s.

THE 'CATECHISMUS SEU DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA LATINO-HIBERNICA OF THEOBALD STAPLETON. Brussels, 1639. Reflex facs. ... ... 15s.

BOOKS OF SURVEY AND DISTRIBUTION. 1636-1703. Vol. I. Co. ROSCOMMON. Ed. R. C. Simington. With reproductions of 17th-century maps. £2 15s.

KNIGHTS' FEES IN COUNTIES WEXFORD, CARLOW AND KILKENNY. (13th-15th century). Ed. E. St. John Brooks, £1 10s.

PUBLISHED BY THE STATIONERY OFFICE, DUBLIN

Obtainable from the

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS SALE OFFICE

3 & 4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN

or through any Bookseller.

The Irish Digest

¶ The Irish Digest presents each month a pageant of Irish life and Irish ideals, brightly condensed from the best that is being written in books and periodicals at home and abroad, by Irish writers or about Ireland.

¶ *Here is a Digest with a difference. Send it to your friends and relatives abroad.*

¶ SUBSCRIPTION RATES
1 year, 12/6, 2 years, £1/1/6d. Your own and a gift subscription for one year — £1/1/6d. All post free.

¶ MONTHLY — ONE SHILLING

Printed by CAHILL & CO. LTD., *Parkgate Printing Works, Dublin*

Published by C. J. FALLON, LTD. 9b, *Lower Abbey Street, Dublin*

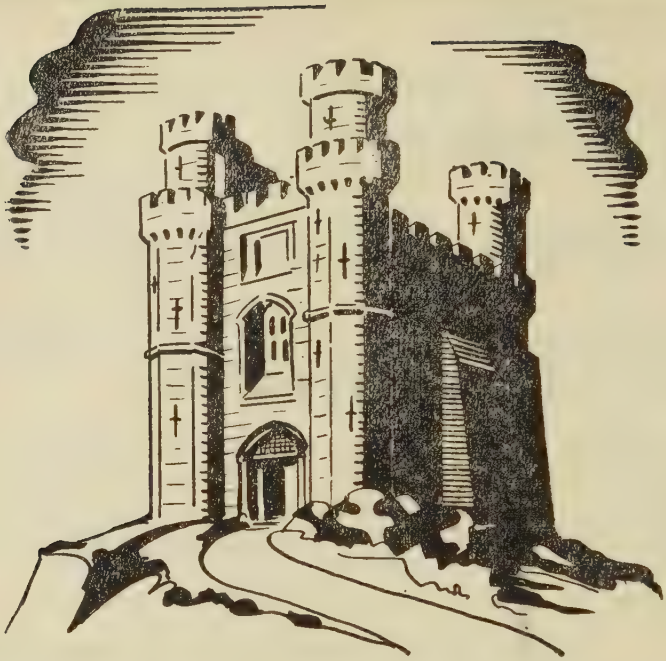
where SILENCE is desired . . .

IN every instance where quietness and the ability to withstand constant usage are required, the most practical answer is Dunlop Rubber Flooring. It is completely silent to walk on, easy to keep clean, and can bear the heaviest traffic almost indefinitely. In addition, Dunlop Rubber Flooring and Semastic Tiles can be laid in a great variety of colours and designs, with most pleasing effects.

Dunlop

RUBBER FLOORING & SEMASTIC TILES

Full details from The Irish Dunlop Co., Ltd., Lr. Abbey St., Dublin



Commanding position

It's a tale older than history .... Men labour for years to build a fortress, a home, a business—or maybe just the most important thing of all .... a reputation. When the builders have reached their objective, they have an asset which is hard to assail.

Through the vision of an Irishman directing the great Pye enterprise in Cambridge, the Pye factory in his own country was founded. After years of patient planning, and expenditure and training of workers, the efficiency of the Dundrum factory has made possible the production of the entire range of Pye receivers in Ireland at British prices.

Not the least of our achievements is the employment of some hundreds of Irish workers at home—a brick only perhaps, but withal a brick, in the architecture of the nation.

PYE duty free radio

PYE (IRELAND) LTD., MANOR WORKS, DUNDRUM, DUBLIN.

MOTHER AND CHILD SERVICE

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.
Professor of Moral Theology, Milltown Park, Dublin

HISTORY has a knack of repeating itself—even in Ireland where the unexpected is proverbially the only safe thing to expect. If anyone cares to take down from his shelves a former volume of this periodical, that of the year 1918, he will find in it an article by Fr. Peter Finlay, S.J., entitled *The Doctrinal Authority of Bishops*. Exactly thirty-three years ago to the very month a challenge to this authority as exercised by the Irish Hierarchy moved the then Editor of *Studies*, the late Fr. P. J. Connolly, S.J., to commission and publish that article. To-day the present Editor feels it opportune to recall, almost to re-print, the substance of that article.

But thirty-three years ago the challenge came from a Catholic body of laymen in England. To-day it comes from another source, or other sources, shriller and far less dignified in expression, but equally uninstructed. " A situation," as wrote Fr. Finlay, " which would be humorous, if it were not so unCatholic and so unseemly." He was dealing with, as usual, the unexpected in Irish history. It is a full generation ago : but many of us who have reached middle-age can catch again the very accents of the period, breathe again its atmosphere. The Irish Bishops had issued an authoritative decision on the Military Service Act, passed by the English Parliament in April, 1918, in so far as that law concerned Ireland. As Fr. Finlay says " the first duty of the Bishops was to safeguard the spiritual interests of their people, not to win the approval of Protestant public opinion, not even to escape the uninformed criticism of some among Catholics themselves." To fulfil this first duty they declared " Conscription forced in this way (against the will of the Irish nation and in defiance of the protests of its leaders) upon Ireland is an oppressive and inhuman law " : " the Irish people have a right to resist it by all the means that are consonant with the law of God."

What was the re-action to this authoritative decision ? In the country as a whole it was received with enthusiastic joy, welcomed and followed out with exhilaration. An impartial historian may some day try to analyse whether that joy and welcome and ready obedience came in many cases precisely from a realization of the doctrinal authority of the Bishops and the intrinsic rightness and goodness of accepting and obeying it, irrespective of the agreeable or unagreeable nature of its content : or whether it came from the fact that the content of the teaching was, in its intrinsic merits on this occasion, in tune with the mood and personal views of the

vast majority of the people. But at least as regards the great bulk of the common people throughout the country it is certainly true, as it is a matter for legitimate pride and gratitude to God, that this acceptance of and obedience to the authority of their Bishops were founded on principle and on faith, not on opportunism, expediency or natural prudence. The vast majority of the plain people listened and obeyed not only because they had judged the issue already for themselves and agreed with the Bishops (as, indeed, they had and did), but because they held the conviction and firm belief that the Bishops had an authority, a governing and a teaching authority, bestowed upon them by Jesus Christ, the Son of God. It is easy to accept a teaching that you yourself are, for one reason or another, or even from mere prejudice, already in agreement with. It is easy to obey an order from an authority to do something that you yourself already want, for other powerful motives, to do. But on other occasions such acceptance may require very strongly held principles based on clear conviction and a living supernatural faith ; it may, and does, require supernatural virtue, humility, fortitude, and loyalty in a high degree.

Fr. Finlay tells us of another side of the reception of the Bishops' declaration in 1918 : his description might have been written in 1951. " As was to be expected, criticism of the Bishops' action was very fierce, often very insulting. They were mere tools of Papal policy. They wanted to make Home Rule impossible. They wished to regain control over a people that had been falling from them. They were actuated by hatred of England and of the Allies. They were anxious to hold back their young men, in order to trample more effectually on the Protestant minority in the North. No motive was too absurd to attribute to them, no language too coarse in which to bring the accusation. We were threatened even with a renewal of religious persecution : the Protestant temper of the Kingdom was rising ; it would make short shrift of the arrogant pretensions of Rome. A section of the English Press lent itself to the anti-Catholic clamour : some few politicians appeared to think they might profit by it." How familiar and contemporaneous all this now sounds ! And yet what a change. The heirs-in-law to these anti-Catholic clamourers of 1918 have learned nothing and forgotten much in the thirty-three years.

" Then a strange thing happened : ' The Council of the Catholic Union of Great Britain ' met in London and condemned the Irish Bishops. The Council adopted various resolutions, among which one sets forth that " The Catholic Union has viewed with the deepest regret the action which the Catholic Bishops have deemed it necessary to take . . . . action which appears to support a movement for organised disobedience to the law ; " another that " The Catholic Union cannot regard without serious misgivings any interference by ecclesiastical authority in questions which are purely temporal and political, and in no way connected with faith and morals." As Fr. Finlay said, this was a situation which " would be

humorous, if it were not so unCatholic and unseemly." Thirteen English Catholic lay gentlemen, " who had no particular concern with or for the Catholics of Ireland, no particular qualification to sit in judgment on the Irish Bishops, no special knowledge of religion or of the moral law, undertook quite gravely to teach the Bishops the duties of their episcopal office, to prescribe for them the limits of their jurisdiction, to revise and over-rule their doctrinal decision." They even sent their findings " to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State for submission to His Holiness the Pope." To-day, unhappily and to our shame, the place—and almost the very words—of these thirteen well-intentioned, if rather officious, self-assured and imprudent English laymen is taken by an Irish Catholic layman, *inter alios*, speaking (as he himself inaccurately said) " as a Catholic " in our national Parliament.

I

The issues raised in 1951 are precisely the same as those raised in 1918 : (i) the teaching authority of the Bishops, its origin and binding force ; (ii) the extent of the matter which this authority covers ; (iii) the opportuneness or expediency of its exercise ; (iv) the particular form or the concrete mode in which Bishops discharge their duty of vigilance over the interests of religion and morality in given circumstances ; and (v) the Catholic temper of mind in which their subjects should receive their teaching.

The Bishops of the Catholic Church are the successors of the Apostles, through an unbroken succession, in their primary duty of teaching " all things whatsoever I have commanded you." As Fr. Finlay put it : " They must condemn heresy ; watch over " protective truths " which are intimately connected with those that have been formally revealed ; and warn the faithful against all errors gravely hurtful to religion. They must follow out the moral law to its further consequences, apply it to the practical conduct of life, and define its limits." " On Catholic principles, each Bishop, in his own diocese, and under certain limitations, is to his own faithful people what the whole body of Bishops assembled in Council and the Roman Pontiff are to the Church at large." A Bishop, even in his own diocese, is not infallible : only the Pope and an Œcumenical Council are infallible. There is an appeal from individual Bishops, or local episcopal assemblies. A Bishop " may not determine questions of faith and morals which are recognised by loyal Catholics throughout the Church as open to debate and differences of opinion." But apart from these limitations, " the teaching authority of a Bishop in his own diocese is the teaching authority of the Church herself."

As Dr. Alfred O'Rahilly, in his clear, vigorous, and sparkling articles in *The Standard* points out, to deny the right to the Bishops to pass moral judgments on the State is both absurd and suicidal from any point of

view. " We have arrived at the utterly nonsensical position that the *Irish Times* claims the right to subject the Government to a daily barrage of schoolmasterish scolding, while denying to the Catholic Episcopate the right to an occasional restrained intervention purely on matters of principle." He goes on to defend " the right of individual and corporative criticism of Government." He points out that " the *Irish Times* has adopted a principle which would debar from criticism of the State not only the Church of Ireland, but trade unions and councils, as well as newspapers (including itself). The Editor has cut off the branch on which he was sitting."

This right of criticism, either by individual citizens or organized bodies, trade unions, voluntary societies, professions and the like is one of the safeguards which modern democracy has cherished against the danger of totalitarian despotism or bureaucratic interference. But Catholic principles recognize a still deeper right of criticism than that which is conferred on citizens or organizations by constitutions or the natural law. The Church which Christ instituted and in which He placed and places the Bishops as rulers and teachers is itself a " perfect society," completely distinct from (though, in the ideal, not separated from) " civil society." The Catholic Church is not part of civil society, does not get its authority or jurisdiction or rights from any civil constitution. It is an independent and sovereign society in its own realm and its Bishops draw their right to teach and to rule their flock from the Divine constitution which Christ Himself gave His Church. In any given country, the members of the Catholic Church are members of two perfect societies and as such have loyalties and duties to both. The Church speaks to the State as fully an equal, not as a subordinate part, or in any way dependent on, or drawing its powers from, the State. In one of his famous Encyclicals, Pope Leo XIII laid down this doctrine.

> The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. . . . . There must, accordingly, exist, between these two powers, a certain ordered connection which may be not improperly compared to the union which binds the soul to the body in the case of man. The nature and scope of that connection can be determined only by having regard to the nature of each power and by taking account of the relative excellence and nobility of their purpose. (*Immortale Dei*)

Leo XIII goes on to refer to the nineteenth proposition condemned by Pius IX in the *Syllabus* in 1864: " The Church is not a true, perfect, and wholly independent society, possessing its own unchanging rights conferred upon it by its Divine Founder, but it is for the civil power to

determine what are the rights of the Church and the limits within which it may use them."

In *Sapientiae Christianae*, Leo XIII repeated his teaching :

> The Church alike and the State, doubtless, both possess individual sovereignty ; hence in the carrying out of public affairs neither obeys the other within the limits to which each is restricted by its constitution. It does not hence follow, however, that Church and State are in any manner severed and still less antagonistic. . . . Therefore they who are engaged in framing constitutions and in enacting laws should bear in mind the moral and religious nature of man, and take care to help him, *but in a right and orderly way* to gain perfection, *neither enjoining nor forbidding anything save what is reasonably consistent with civil as well as religious requirements. On this very account the Church cannot stand by, indifferent as to the import and significance of laws enacted by the State ;* not in so far, indeed, as they refer to the State, but in so far as passing beyond their due limits, they trench upon the rights of the Church.

In more recent years, Pope Pius XI wrote :

> The Church was established by her Founder as a perfect society, the mistress and leader of other societies : such being the case, she will not encroach upon the authority of other societies which are each of them legitimate in their own sphere, but she will be able felicitously to complete them as grace completes nature. And through her such societies will be the more able to help men to attain the ultimate end which is eternal happiness and the more certain to procure for citizens happiness even on this earth . . . . But if the Church considers it improper to meddle without reason with the government of worldly affairs and purely political matters, she *is within her rights in seeking to prevent civil power making that an excuse to oppose in any way whatsoever the superior interests which involve man's eternal salvation, to endanger or injure those interests by unjust laws or commands, to attack the divine constitution of the Church, or tread underfoot the sacred rights of God in the civil society of men.* (*Ubi Arcano*)

The acceptance and frank recognition of the distinction between Church and State (though not their separation) is the best guarantee that there will be no clash between the two " true and perfect societies." If the Church were to be looked upon as merely a constituent part of civil society, one of many other lesser and subordinate bodies within the State (a position which She has never and can never accept), then many occasions of friction could arise. Each of these perfect societies has its own function and its own end. It cannot be to the interest of one that the other should be weakened or hampered in its work. It is eminently to the interest of each that the other should fulfil its function smoothly and efficiently. On the one hand, citizens of religious and moral character, with high principles and a true sense of values are formed : on the other, peace and prosperity and temporal happiness are secured. There are, of course, " mixed matters " in which each society has an interest : as a great river, an international waterway, may be a sphere of interest between two sovereign nations. But if each understands its own end and the nature of the end the other pursues, it will not be difficult to reach agreement on the respective rights of each in given concrete circumstances.

It should be recalled that the Church does not consist merely of the clergy, bishops and priests. This " true, perfect, and wholly independent society," which is the Church, is composed of both clergy and laity : in this State 2,780,000 persons. It is true that the Bishops, each in his own diocese, are the " teaching Church " : but the laity, as loyal members of the Church of Christ, should not feel any division between themselves and the teaching Church, but should stand behind this authority and with one voice proclaim that teaching as their own. Catholics sometimes lack this sense of solidarity which should be native to a perfect society giving expression, through its authoritative teachers, to its deepest convictions : they lack, sometimes, at least internally, that complete loyalty due from them as members of the Church and allow a latent antagonism to lurk in their minds. They find it troublesome, at times, to adjust themselves at once to accept decisions on matters concerning which they may have already formed tentative, or even more or less firm, opinions. In the already much quoted article of Fr. Finlay some lines are devoted to the " true Catholic temper of mind in which we regard our Bishop's teaching ". " His teaching is to be received by those under his care with all the reverence due to one appointed to his office by the Holy Ghost Himself. We do not say he is divinely inspired as the Apostles were ; we do not maintain that he is infallibly guided as Pope and Council are. . . . . He speaks to us in God's name : he is an apostle, a messenger from God ; and to him also in a measure are spoken the words : " I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world " (Matt. XXVIII. 20.) . . . . It is not to be presumed he errs in anything he teaches me officially. I wish to believe it. I dissent from it only when I see clearly that I must. And I dissent unwillingly : and I make no parade of my dissent. I allow in myself no language of harsh criticism or disrespect." Catholics should remember Christ's promise to St. Peter that He would be with His Church all days to the consummation of the world and that the gates of Hell should not prevail against It. And they should recall St. Peter's words to Christ : " Lord, to Whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

When these two perfect societies, each sovereign in its own sphere, but each consisting of the same persons as members, have to deal with each other, it is but right, and indeed essential, that the conventions and courtesies of the protocol should be worthily observed. Even between sovereign and independent civil States, such courtesies are always insisted upon as a matter of self-respect and respect for others. *Noblesse oblige :* there is a long established traditional civilized way of managing such matters. *A fortiori,* between the Church of God and the State such courtesies should need no justification : they are taken for granted by every refined and sensitive nature, by every educated person. It is unfortunate, more than unfortunate, that they should have been attacked by any Catholic. " As a Catholic I object to this usurpation of authority of the Government by the Bishops. As a Catholic, I protest against this secretive, occult and

objectionable practice . . . . It is wrong, morally wrong, for the Bishops to keep them and me in the dark and to exercise control in civil affairs behind their and my back . . . . The Catholic Hierarchy are entitled to express their views on all matters of public welfare, as are the clergy of all denominations. Such views do and must commend respect, but they ought to be and they must be expressed in public so that they may be known to every citizen of the State." Only a few days before this outburst, the Minister for Foreign Affairs had refused, and rightly refused, to reveal the subject matter of his conversations with the President of the United States. But now the concession is made that the Bishops, holding their commission to teach and to rule from God Himself, " are entitled to express their views ", but that these views " ought to be " and " must be expressed in public so that they may be known to every citizen of the State ". Such " oughts " and " musts ' are not found in Christ's constitution for His Church : it is the sovereign prerogative of a Bishop to decide when and in what manner he will discharge his God-imposed duty of safeguarding the spiritual interests of his flock. Bishops make known, not their " views " but their teaching to every citizen of the State as and when they think prudent : it is not for members of their flock, not even for Deputies, to instruct them in this matter. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of history, with but only the smallest experience of the conduct of public business, knows that there must be confidential discussion, confidential advice sought and given, confidential letters and documents exchanged. Banish from public life this relationship of mutual confidential trust between men, and human government, nay human social life, would become impossible. There is nothing " secretive, occult and objectionable " in this : it is a perfectly reasonable practice and, indeed, an essential requisite in human affairs : Babel would result from its abandonment.

One of the issues mentioned earlier in this article is the extent of a Bishop's teaching authority. " Who is to tell us what are moral and religious questions, in which he has the right, perhaps the duty, to instruct us, and in which we may not, without the gravest reason, entertain or express dissent ? " A real difficulty may arise in a certain class of what are called " mixed questions " where both Church and State have interests, where " it is not clear whose the jurisdiction is, in which the truth may be obscured by passion or prejudice or party. Who is to decide whether or no such matters lie within the Bishop's jurisdiction ? On Catholic principles, the Bishop ; and subject to appeal, the Bishop only. There is no possible alternative. It cannot be the State : else the teaching of religion and morality is made dependent upon the State. It cannot be the faithful : for it has never been suggested that the subjects of a divinely appointed authority can themselves fix the limits of its jurisdiction. . . . Besides, every judicial tribunal must have the right to declare how far, to what matters, its authority extends : otherwise it can be prevented from

exercising any authority at all." A Bishop's teaching cannot be rejected on the ground that, in my opinion, he " has gone beyond the limits of his rightful province. I may appeal, if I will; but until I do, and until the teaching has been reviewed and condemned, it is authoritative."

In the recent case of the Mother and Child Scheme, there was some doubt expressed and some confusion engendered as to the difference between " moral teaching " and " social teaching ". It was implied that while a Bishop might teach authoritatively on Catholic " moral questions ", he could not do so or need not be listened to, when giving Catholic teaching on " social questions ". " Catholic social teaching " is nothing else than Catholic teaching on the doctrinal and moral aspects of social questions. It is, of course, " moral teaching ", the laying down of the moral rightness or wrongness of human acts in a certain sphere of human life. But it may be well to put down on record here, for convenience of reference, the solemn official teaching of the Church on this very point. It is contained most clearly and most forcibly in *Quadragesimo Anno* (41):

> We must lay down the principle, long since clearly established by Leo XIII, that it is Our right and Our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems. It is not, of course, the office of the Church to lead men to transient and perishable happiness only, but to that which is eternal; indeed " the Church believes that it would be wrong for her to interfere without just cause in such earthly concerns ". But she never can relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in matters of technique, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission, but in all those that fall under the moral law. With regard to these, the deposit of truth entrusted to Us by God, and Our weighty office of declaring, interpreting and urging, in season and out of season, the entire moral law, demand that both the social order and economic life be brought within our supreme jurisdiction.

The subject matter which the Pope can deal with for the whole world, a Bishop can deal with in his own diocese. It is hard to understand how a Catholic statesman could not have studied *Quadragesimo Anno*: or having studied it could be in any doubt about the authority of Bishops with regard to " Catholic social teaching ".

II

Very few people have, apparently, ever read the *locus classicus* of this whole vital question. Without having done so, it is difficult to appreciate adequately the full significance of the confidential documents that were recently published. The private letters to the Taoiseach from the Bishop of Ferns, and later from the Archbishop of Dublin, although never meant for publication, can be more justly understood against the background of this *locus classicus*. It is, of course, the notorious Part III of the Health Act, 1947, entitled " Mother and Child Service ". Even in this year of grace 1951 when one has become " softened " and " conditioned " to accept bureaucratic control, the reading of this Part III

almost makes one pause. It does not, of course, for we are atrophied. It was quite evidently written by a fervent believer in " constructive medicine ", someone who was resolved to make everyone 100% healthy, whether they wanted or not, and almost irrespective of the costs in either money or other values, such as privacy, personal liberty, family responsibility and the like. There is an almost brutally peremptory tone, a dictatorial despotic ring in the wording : curt, sharp, clear, almost harsh.

" A health authority shall, in accordance with regulations made under Section 28 of this Act, make arrangements for safeguarding the health of women in respect of motherhood and for their education in this respect." It would be easy and there is, on account of the tone of this whole part of the Act, a strong temptation to speak in over-strong terms about its contents. To write a balanced, objective and just comment on it requires the exercise of a considerable amount of restraint and coolness of judgment. It is only fair that we should assume that the person who drafted this portion of the Act was animated by goodwill and the best of intentions : it is only fair that we should not read more into his words than they carry on their face. There is always the presumption in favour of the fact that the provisions of an Act or the regulations issued by a Minister are themselves reasonable and will be put into force in a reasonable and moderate way. We should try to interpret such writings as we would wish to have our own interpreted, in the best light possible and without exaggerating or going to one extreme or another. It is very easy to take any document and by over-stressing certain portions to give a completely false impression of the mind or intentions of the writer or of the spirit in which any particular enactment will be administered. With this warning in mind we may make the following comment on this first Section 21 of Part III. Who is " the health authority " to whom is given such powers and such obligations ? It is either a County Council or else the Corporation of a County Borough. It is this body that is given the power and the duty to make arrangements for " safeguarding the health of women in respect of motherhood " and for the education of Irish Catholic girls in the most intimate sexual matters. These duties of the County Council are to be carried out under " regulations " which will be made by the Minister for Health and which will tell the County Council how to do this delicate task. It is to be presumed that the Minister will make reasonable regulations. But nowadays the standard of reasonableness in regard to matters of health can vary very much. The Minister, of course, need not be a medical doctor and could be Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Atheist or anything else you like. Even assuming, as we do, that the Minister will use his powers in the most reasonable way, is it either just or prudent to give such unfettered powers to any Minister in respect of this particular subject matter ? It may be that it would work all right so long as the personnel, both in the Department of Health and in the County Council, were what we have

been accustomed to. But it is a most unwise thing to guide one's life by pragmatism instead of by principle. The duties imposed on the County Council to be discharged by them and the powers given to the Minister to lay down the exact way in which these duties are to be fulfilled are, even in the most favourable reading, extremely wide. The final object is clearly stated: it is two-fold. First, " to make arrangements to safeguard the health of women in respect of motherhood ": second, to educate women in respect of motherhood. To achieve the first object the County Council could presumably be free to tell any woman under their jurisdiction whether she should have another baby or not: whether she should not undergo certain operations: whether she should allow a pregnancy run its natural course. In England, and certain other countries, all this might not seem unreasonable. In Ireland it gives one a shock to think that any Minister or County Council could by law be given such powers. " To make arrangements to safeguard the health of women in respect of motherhood " would certainly mean making arrangements concerning the food she should be allowed, or made, to eat, the exercise she should take, the work she should do. The phrase seems to be, or at least be able to be, an Open Sesame for a State official, paid by the County Council and responsible to the County Council and acting with powers given to him by Ministerial regulations, to walk into any Irishman's home and interfere between man and wife and, indeed, between God and a married couple. Possibly at the moment in Ireland the Ministerial regulations would be so drafted as to secure that the duties of the County Council would be discharged in the most considerate way possible with full regard to the traditional liberties and reticences. But as the Bishops said this is really a question of principle. It is well to glance across at what is happening in England and at the standards they have set for themselves in the most solemn and official form. The recent report of the Royal Commission on Population unanimously recommended the following: " We recommend, therefore, that the restrictions should be removed and that the giving of advice on contraception to married persons who want it should be accepted as a duty of the National Health Service ". " The duty to give contraceptive advice should be discharged in such a way as to make clear that it is part of a National policy for the promotion of family welfare.... It should, therefore, be linked as closely as possible in administration with other services for family welfare ". (*Royal Commission on Population*, 1949, Page 194). Dr. O'Rahilly's quotation seems à propos here: " *Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet* ".

We know now that a private letter sent to the then Taoiseach on the 7th October 1947, contained the Hierarchy's grave disapproval of certain parts of the then recently enacted Health Act, 1947, especially Part III dealing with Mother and Child Services. " They pointed out that to claim such powers for the public authority, without qualifications, is

entirely and directly contrary to Catholic teaching on the rights of the family, the rights of the Church in Education, the rights of the Medical Profession and of voluntary Institutions." It was under this part of the Act that any scheme drawn up by a Minister for Health for Mother and Child welfare would have to come. The private letter from His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin to the Taoiseach on the 5th April, 1951, states that the actual scheme about which there has been so much talk was really not a scheme at all. " The scheme as set forth in vague general terms has the appearance of conferring a benefit on the mothers and children of the whole nation ". " It is to be noted that the proposed scheme fails to give clear evidence of the details of implementation ". The Bishops wrote about powers taken by the State in this Part III of the Health Act, 1947 : " Their character is such that no assurance that they would be used in moderation could justify their enactment. After adoption in Law they would constitute a ready-made instrument for future totalitarian aggression ".

So much for the health of women in respect of motherhood. Section 22 takes up the question of children, who are defined as persons who are less than sixteen years of age. The Section reads : " A health authority shall, in accordance with regulations made under Section 28 of this Act, do, in respect of children in their functional areas who are not pupils of any school, the following things,—(a) safeguard and improve their health and physical condition ; (b) arrange for their medical inspection at schools or other places ; (c) provide for their education in matters relating to health ; (d) provide for treatment of their illnesses and defects ; (e) ascertain cases of mental deficiency ". The next Section 23 is worded almost identically except that it deals with pupils who are at some school. Once more we note the extraordinary wide powers of interfering with the parents' rights and duties with regard to their children. A great deal depends, of course, on the nature of the regulations, but there is no qualification limiting the Minister in this matter. He can make what regulations he thinks fit. Who can tell what a particular Minister or particular County Council may consider essential for safeguarding and improving the health of children. On Catholic principles it is the parents' exclusive right and duty to look after the health of their children : by this Act the State usurps that right and duty and places it in the hands of the County Council.

It is important to note exactly what is done. The State does not say " If the parents are not able to, or culpably neglect to, safeguard the health of their children, then the County Council must make provision ". It lays down as a matter of principle of universal validity for all parents and all children that the County Councils are charged with the responsibility for the five primary duties mentioned above. The Act does not say that if the parents are unable by illness or poverty adequately to discharge their duties and exercise their rights, then the County Councils shall aid

and assist the parents by money grants or otherwise. It does not acknowledge the rights of the parents at all. It does not direct the County Councils to take steps to enable the parents to choose their doctor or to provide what is required for their children. It is an " enabling Act " and leaves all this to the regulations. But why give in solemn legal form such extensive powers to a Minister which, if used to their legal extent, would be immoral for him to use? Why not lay down at once the limits according to moral law to which the Minister or the County Councils can go in this matter. Why not make it clear that on principle it is the parents alone, so long as they are willing, who have the right, duty and responsibility to safeguard their children's health and to choose the methods and means to this end, and that the County Council must respect these rights and only use such methods as are within the moral law, that they must only co-operate with and supplement the parents' efforts, never supplant them.

It is a very serious thing when a County County official has the power by law to walk into any Irishman's home, whether once, twice or oftener in the year, against the will of the parents. It is a very serious thing that this County Council official should have the legal right to order the children of the family to be brought before him, make these children, boys and girls of 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16, undress and submit to a most intimate medical inspection. It is a very serious thing when such an official has the right to inspect such domestic arrangements as he thinks would militate against the safeguarding of the health of the children: a right to give instructions as to food, exercise and sleeping arrangements and possibly to bring the habits and directions of the parents in these matters into contempt with the children and so shake all parental authority. You cannot have two different people educating children on the one subject without shaking the confidence and trust in one or other. And the Act says that the parents " shall be entitled, on request, to be present "! The parent has an absolute right, without any Act and without any request, to be present at such a scene. He has a perfect right to use all legitimate means to prevent any such scene taking place. The parent has an absolute moral right to object to this whole interference in his domestic and family life and we should note that all this humiliating prying into family affairs is solely for the purpose of inspection. For the Act itself at least stopped short of giving the County Council power to insist on treatment for any illness discovered in the children. It cannot, and we should be thankful for small mercies, order operations or the taking of medicine. It is something that the State has not yet asserted its right to remove organs from our body. Is not all this inquisition very much more humiliating than any Means' Test? Why should poor families or rich be obliged to open their doors to any County Council official and reveal all their little domestic secrets, all their little make-shifts which are common to all homes,

especially with many children, and listen patiently to the criticisms of these domestic arrangements offered by a County Council official.

Even if the parents are financially utterly unable to provide for the health of their children, this fact alone does not give the State a moral right to take over the charge. It merely imposes a duty on the State to assist and aid the parents, leaving them the fullest liberty of action and of choice and decision. The State may, and should, pay for the safeguarding of the health of the children in such cases. It should not, even when paying, usurp rights, the usurpation of which are in no way necessary to the efficient discharge of its duty to help. It is only when the parents wilfully refuse (not when they are only unable) to do their duty, that the State has any right to make other arrangements.

The clear teaching of the Papal Encyclicals leaves no doubt that this is Catholic social teaching. In *Rerum Novarum* Pope Leo XIII wrote: " We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family but both should be allowed free and untrammelled action so far as is consistent with the common good and the interest of others ". And again, " the contention that the Civil Government should at its option intrude into and exercise intimate control over the family and the household is a great and pernicious error . . . . and not only is such interference unjust but it is quite certain to harass and worry all classes of citizens and subject them to odious and intolerable bondage ". Is there any other function which should more fundamentally and more primarily rest completely on the responsibility of parents than that of the birth and spiritual and temporal welfare of their children? For what other purpose does a man strive to earn his living and demand a living wage except to give his wife and children at least the essential and conventional necessities of life? Surely it is a first charge on the family's funds and surely everything else should be subordinated to this duty, right and privilege! In what other sphere will a man cultivate the vital qualities of initiative and self-reliance —where will he find an equally powerful incentive? Are parents to be reduced to the level of animals, merely regarded as biologically necessary for the birth, but superfluous when it comes to the task of bringing up their children and safeguarding their physical health?

In the planning of his income the father of a family is obliged to have some scale of priorities. Certain duties have first claim on his income. It is precisely in order that he may be able to pay for these essentials that he earns his living at all. Only when these are discharged can he go on to other expenditure if he can afford it. If the State by offering free services in the most primary spheres of human responsibilities saps the initiative and self-reliance of the citizens it will certainly dwarf them for all other action. It might be argued that a man cannot provide for old age or accidents or even normal sicknesses and that therefore the State should make large contributions to enable him to meet these charges which, of course,

are in the first place his own responsibility. But if we are reduced to the position that the State has to take over for every citizen of the country the whole responsibility of supplying the needs of motherhood and the safeguarding of the health of all children up to 16 years of age, then there is very little else of importance left for the father of a family to exercise his initiative and self-reliance in providing.

A word must be said, however, about the fifth duty of the County Council, namely, to " ascertain cases of mental deficiency ". It is often said that the Means' Test inflicts hardship and humiliation on the poor, though all that may be involved is someone saying to a single individual " my income is under £3 a week ". What hardship and humiliation may not be involved in families having to reveal a case, say, of some severe nervous breakdown of a boy or girl of 10 or 11. Most families do not want this sort of thing spoken about in the district and quite justifiably. Yet the County Council which is the Health Authority and which is composed of local people, has a right to ascertain cases of mental deficiency. It is one thing to call in a family doctor, who is bound by all law, natural and divine, as well as by professional etiquette, not to reveal secrets, it is another to give power to a County Council to ascertain cases of mental deficiency in a family.

With regard to arranging for medical inspection at schools and other places, the Act reads very harshly. " Whenever a medical inspection is arranged under this Act for a child, whether at his home or at any other place, and the parent of such child is made aware of the time and place at which such inspection is to be held, the parent shall submit the child to such inspection unless an exemption has been granted under sub-section (v) of this Section and shall be entitled, on request, to be present at such inspection. If a parent refuses to submit his child or children to such medical inspection by a State paid official he, or she, shall be liable on a summary offence to a fine not exceeding £5 and in the case of a second offence to a fine not exceeding £10. If a Health Authority wishes to make a medical inspection of the children at any school it " may give to the school Manager of the school notice in writing of such intention ". And on the other hand, it need not give such notice. But the school Manager " shall cause all reasonable facilities (including facilities for obtaining the names and addresses of pupils attending the school) to be given for the holding of a medical inspection and if he does not he shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine of £10."

One of the *gaucheries* (to use a mild term) of the Act is contained in subsection (2) of Section 23. " This section shall apply to every national school and also to every school to which an order under subsection (3) of this section relates." It would appear that the Act was assuming that " national schools " were State schools and that little or no courtesy was due to the true owners of these schools. They might be " pushed around "

without compunction, while other schools were treated differently. The national schools are not state schools ; the families of each parish or district have their own primary schools, generally owned by the denominational bodies, with their own school-managers appointing their own teachers. The State, in fulfilment of its constitutional obligation, pays all registered teachers' salaries and portion of the cost of building and maintaining these primary schools. Hence, the Constitutional requirements (i) of the provision of free primary education, and (ii) of a certain minimum of education are fully met without any usurpation of the rights of parents.[1]

If the Health Act or the Mother and Child Scheme followed this already proved system, it would not run counter to sound moral and social principles, nor put in jeopardy the rights of the parents, nor sap initiative and self-reliance. It would be far more in accordance with the traditions of the people, and would, almost certainly, meet with such co-operation from all interested parties as to make it an outstanding success. The Health Act would be a very different Act if it provided that public funds should assist the families of each county or diocese in setting up one or more small-scale " maternity and child centres ", owned co-operatively by the families themselves. These would be owned and managed, as the " national schools " are, by denominational bodies, with a Director or Manager appointed by the owners, with the appointment of the doctors and nurses in the hands of the owners. The State or the local Health Authority would have rights with regard to the technical qualifications of the doctors and nurses, and the standards of service provided. They could, by a system of inspection, see that funds were not squandered, that certain minimum conditions were fulfilled. In return a certain proportion of the taxes and rates paid by the families of these districts would be allocated to assist in the cost of building and equipment and in the maintenance and running costs. Indeed, the whole present dispensary system might well be re-modelled on this plan and health and education more closely joined under a scheme giving full protection to the rights of parents, Church, profession and State.

The Committee Stage of this Health Act of 1947 was taken in the Dail on the 10th, 11th and 12th June, 1947. It would well repay anyone who has any doubts concerning the wisdom or opportuneness of the Hierarchy's intervention to read that debate carefully. As is well known

[1] In a letter published in *The Tablet* (5 May 1951) a correspondent points out an important difference between education and health. " Education entails a constant, heavy expenditure during the whole of the school age, which cannot be undertaken by the majority of parents, however carefully they save. Consequently the State is justified in providing financial and other help, through the medium of universal taxation. On the other hand, medical attention is not normally required over long periods without cease. There is sufficient time between periods of ill-health for the parents to save money for the next medical bill, and this they must do, as far as lies within their power. Where expense is incurred on a scale so large that it is not possible for the parents to meet it, e.g. due to a major operation, then the State may step in and assist the parents to pay the bill."

hardly had the Health Act become an Act when it was challenged in the Supreme Court as being unconstitutional. It is only after reading the Act carefully and, indeed, reading that debate as well, that one can fully appreciate the force of the objections contained in the letter addressed by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin to the Taoiseach on the 5th April, 1951. " The Hierarchy cannot approve of any scheme which, in its general tendency, must foster undue control by the State in a sphere so delicate and so intimately concerned with morals as that which deals with gynaecology and obstetrics and with the relation between doctor and patient ". If there is any sphere in which the Bishops are justified in calling a halt to the steady encroaching of the State on family and individual rights it is surely in this sphere. If now they had not made a protest it is very difficult to see how any protest could be made when the State begins to interfere in other and less important matters. Once the principle and its application were allowed to pass unchallenged in such a vital instance as this, it could with difficulty be challenged in other cases. The same remark applies to the objections of the Hierarchy about sapping the initiative and self-reliance of the individual and families : the particular sphere of life in which these are sapped adds to the general danger. There should be no need to stress the fact that the Bishops think that women, mothers and children, should be efficiently looked after in respect of health but they wish to state unequivocally that the State and State paid officials are not the persons to enter into this sphere at all. From what other sphere of human life can the State henceforth be excluded if its intervention in this sphere is now accepted on principle. Apart from religion there is hardly anything more personal, intimate and private to man and woman than this whole question of motherhood and the bringing up of children. Of its very nature, as every reasonable man will admit, it should be hedged around with the strictest guards against any sort of outside interference. The family doctor, precisely because he is almost a member of the family, with his sense of vocation and his complete freedom and independence from an employer, especially from an impersonal employer like the State, with his obligation to complete secrecy, should be the only person to be permitted to enter into this realm of human life.

III

One of the features of the recently proposed Mother and Child Scheme was the " abolition of the Means' Test " : it was to be a " free-for-all " scheme. This is an issue which raises very far-reaching questions. On what grounds, for what reasons, has any citizen a right to receive certain services " free " from the State : paid for, that is, not by himself, but out of public funds ? Everyone admits that there are certain essential commodities and services which a citizen has a " right " to receive " free "

(i) if he is in *need* of them, and (ii) if *through no fault of his own he is unable* to pay for them himself. This right rests on his real need and, at the same time, his real inculpable inability to pay for them himself. Conversely, the State has a duty, and a right, especially if private charity does not suffice, to supply such a person with these services at the public expense. But has the State any right to use public money, taken ultimately from the private property of its citizens, to give free commodities and free services to those who neither need them nor are unable to pay for them? This raises the questions whether there is any limit, under the moral law, to the power of the State to tax its citizens: and whether there are any defined boundaries with regard to the purposes for which it taxes them. We are so accustomed to the positivist view of legislation, have accepted for so long the omnipotence and omnicompetence of the State, of the legislature and the executive, that we are almost reluctant to set any limits to its right to tax us or to its choice of the purposes for which it uses our money. Yet it is a commonplace of Catholic teaching that there are such limits: that the right of the State in this sphere is limited by the function of the State to promote the common good: that the purposes for which taxes are levied must be necessary or genuinely useful for the common good. This is not a matter of completely arbitrary choice on the part of a Government.

We cannot accept as true the proposition that the State has a moral right to take away property of one citizen in order to give arbitrarily some free service or other to another citizen or even to all other citizens. The State has to justify its action in taxing people by reference to some objective norm of justice, necessity and utility. There is a latitude for genuine difference of opinion as to what is "necessary" or what is "useful" to the common good but there are also objective standards, beyond which the State may not go, accepted by the commonsense of the *maior* and *sanior pars* of a community.

The Means' Test is not something desirable in itself: it is normally, or at least in many cases, a necessary evil, and when it is the lesser of two evils, it has to be chosen. The State, the tax-payers, the community as a whole have a perfect right to ask anyone to establish both his need and his inability to pay before supplying him with free services. There is nothing unreasonable or tyrannical or unChristian in this principle, whatever may be said of particular ways of applying the principle in concrete circumstances. Individual citizens, even those who protest most loudly about the "degrading nature of the Means' Test", act on this principle with regard to their own property and the expenditure of their own money. Why should they claim that the State should use any other principle when handling the community's money?

The worst reason that could be given to defend the conferring on all citizens of some free services is the need of avoiding the Means' Test. There may be intrinsic reasons why some free services should be given

to all but this should be decided on the merits of each case. It is not a sound principle to say that if the State gives a free service to some members of the community it must then give it to all: all or none. If only say 30% of the citizens are in genuine need of the service and unable to pay for it, then on its merits there is nothing to be said for the State spending the taxpayers' money in giving it to the other 70% who, if ever they need it, are either able to pay for it altogether or at least make some contribution to it. It is argued that there is some "humiliation" or some "degradation" in a person having to state that his income is below a certain level. But surely this is a commonplace in all social life. It may be true that a particularly brutal or insensitive official may try to humiliate a person now and again. But normally the Means' Test can be worked in a considerate fashion with no great embarrassment to anyone, and the mere fact that in a very small minority of cases some officious individual tries to treat a person in a high-handed fashion is no reason for rejecting this whole method. *Abusus non tollit usum.* It is not beyond the wit of man to devise a system in which the full advantages of the Means' Test may be secured and its disadvantages avoided. Anyone travelling on the railway is dealt with on the basis of a Means' Test, admittedly applied by himself. He either goes first class or third class according to his means. The same principle is applied in cinemas, at football grounds or in restaurants. We all have to declare the level of our income when we start spending it at all. At any rate, unless we are gravely to blame ourselves, it is not a rational cause for embarrassment that one person does not, or is not able to, earn as much as another. With regard to claiming for exemption from income tax people have to declare their income to officials and normally it is not considered either humiliating or degrading.

It is hardly necessary to elaborate on the disadvantages of abolishing the Means' Test. If the State is prohibited from giving anything to those in need unless it gives the same to all, whether in need or not, then the limit of the State's power to help the needy will be very narrow. Only comparatively few things will be able to be given free and there will have to be a certain restricted scale of priorities. In modern times it has become the policy of the State to try to secure that people with low incomes will be able to buy the necessities of life such as food, housing and clothing, at a reasonable price. In order to do this the State has found it necessary to subsidize certain commodities: in our own country, for instance, bread, butter, tea, sugar and housing. The consequence is that not only those who cannot afford to pay the full economic price for these commodities but everyone in the State, even those who can well afford to pay, are being subsidized out of the public monies. The cost to the State of this practice grows very rapidly and some limit has to be placed on such expenditure. If it were possible to confine the subsidies to those who need them the State could give those in genuine need very much better services. But because the whole community has to be subsidized, the cost is such that

the poorer section have to pay higher and have to have less commodities subsidized than would be otherwise possible. On what rational ground should the State be asked to give free old age pensions, for instance, to people who have no need of them and are quite well able to support themselves on their own property or why should the State be asked to subsidize the houses and gardens of those who wish to dwell in such expensive places and at the same time have plenty of money to keep them up?

It may be useful to put here the approximate sums of money at present distributed by the State in the form of subsidies or other helps meant to assist those with low incomes. The total is something in the region of £27,000,000 a year.

Subsidies for Dairy Produce	£2,600,000
,, ,, Flour and Bread	7,200,000
,, ,, Tea, Sugar, etc.	1,800,000
,, ,, Housing	1,600,000
	£13,200,000
Old age pensions	£7,000,000
Widows and Orphans	1,000,000
Childrens Allowances	2,200,000
National Health	481,000
Unemployment	1,300,000
Relief Schemes	1,700,000
	£13,681,000

It is, of course, admitted that there are certain services which the State should supply free to all but these are relatively few. They are services which of their nature are the concern of all, and therefore the concern of none, unless the State as representative of all takes them over. They are not services which God and nature have already made the special and exclusive concern of either the individual person or the family or some other body, vocational or religious. Where a body is found which of its very nature is obviously and specifically adapted to meet certain specific needs and supply certain specific services, then the State must prove that it has a right to take over that service or to supply it free to all. The presumption is against it. The family is such a body. When we come to a service which should be the first charge on the head of the family's income, such as the feeding, clothing and safeguarding the health of mothers and children, we are dealing with something which only in the last resource should the State take over. It is not denied that there is a certain percentage of the community which genuinely cannot afford to pay the full cost of the reasonable requirements for motherhood or for the safeguarding of their children's health in the way demanded by modern medicine. The percentage that can in no way pay for such services is not relatively very high. It may be 15 % or 20%. Unless there is great

extravagance in administration or unless the demand for drugs, service, buildings, equipment and amenities are quite unreasonable, it should not impose a very great burden on the State to subsidize families or voluntary bodies so that an adequate free service might be available for this small percentage. The persons availing themselves of it would be sure of the best medical attention, the best nursing and all reasonable comfort. But there must always be certain inconveniences and drawbacks which, while not touching the essence of the service or its efficiency, are inevitable in any subsidized free service. There is another fraction of the community, possibly between 40% and 50%, who can well afford to pay something towards the cost of the reasonable essential service, if in the expenditure of their income they follow out a just and reasonable scale of priorities. Many of these people would not be willing to accept the inherent inconveniences and drawbacks of a free service. They would prefer to have certain additional advantages consisting of things such as greater privacy, private appointments with doctors, a wider choice of specialists, the absence of waiting for one's turn, the selection of nurses and the like. There is nothing wrong in a person who is able to pay for these extra benefits wishing to enjoy them. But there is no reason why they should ask the State to give them these free.

Recently Mr. Stanley Lyon, at the Statistical Society, gave some figures dealing with " Natality in Dublin in the Years 1943, 1944 and 1945 ".

TABLE XV.

Place of Birth.

Year	Total Births	Hospitals, Nursing Homes, etc.					Mother's own Home
		Coombe	Holles Street	Rotunda	Private Nursing, Home	St. Kevin's	
1943	14,706	1,765	2,782	3,434	2,283	14	4,428
1944	14,674	1,663	2,908	3,629	2,437	11	4,026
1945	15,335	1,738	3,156	3,569	2,691	45	4,136

It will be seen that roughly 30 per cent of the births in each year took place in the mother's own home. Thus while 70 per cent of births took place in what might be described as professional surroundings with all the amenities of doctors, nursing staffs, attendants, etc., a further 20 per cent were " Extern " cases attached to one or other of the three principal maternity hospitals in the city where the mothers had been in touch with these institutions for ante-natal care and were attended during confinement by hospital staff, leaving only 10 per cent of all births as those which were attended by private doctors in the patient's own home.

From these figures it is easy to see that so far as Dublin is concerned, and the same applies to certain other big cities such as Cork, Limerick and Waterford, the mother and child problem is chiefly a marginal problem, the solution of which would be in sight had we say two more large Maternity Hospitals of the size of Holles Street or the Rotunda, containing rooms at different charges and private and semi-private wards. Admittedly in country districts the problem would not be so easily solved.

From certain casual conversations one gathered the impression that very many people of the white-collar class were looking forward to a free-for-all mother and child scheme in which they would get exactly the type of service to which they and people of their income had always been accustomed : private appointments in specialists' houses for four or five months before the birth, a private room in a nursing home and a special nurse for a certain number of days. It is hardly possible or reasonable for the State to try to subsidize a free service on such a lavish scale.

At the same time, there is no doubt that there is a large section of the community, the so-called " middle-classes " or " white-collar workers " who are finding it more and more difficult to meet the progressively rising costs of modern medical attention. Nowadays, even leaving out doctors' fees altogether, the cost of a room in a private hospital, the salary of a nurse (small as it is from her point of view), the charge for fires and laundry, the cost of X-rays, blood-tests, blood transfusions, and many new drugs which are now held essential, all these (and they are normal costs) are placing too heavy a burden on the middle-classes. At one end of the scale, there is need for a free or nearly free service to meet a relatively small percentage in genuine need ; at the other end, there are a small number who can pay for whatever convenience or comforts they wish. But there is a large percentage of the community who can afford only to pay for a particular type of maternity and child service at a much lower level of costs than is common to-day. This percentage is, at present, unable to find the service they desire at the price they can pay.

EDWARD J. COYNE

MOTHER AND CHILD SERVICE

THE MEDICAL PROBLEM

BY JOHN F. CUNNINGHAM, M.D., M.A.O., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.C.O.G.

Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, University College, Dublin; Sometime Master, The National Maternity Hospital, Dublin

WITH a view to providing the essential data for discussion of the needed improvements in the Mother and Child services in this country, the Editor has asked me to set down some observations on present conditions and to indicate how existing deficiencies could be made good. Any serious discussion of the question must start with an examination of the existing facilities. Such a survey falls into two parts: facilities available in the Dublin area and facilities available throughout the rest of the country. Dublin is singularly fortunate in possessing three voluntary maternity hospitals which between them provide directly or indirectly for 85.7 per cent of the births in the city. Of the 15,882 children born in Dublin last year (1950) 10,056—63.3 per cent of the total number of births—were born in these hospitals; a further 3,557—22.4 per cent of the total—were born in the hospital districts. The remaining 2,269—14.3 per cent of the total—were born either in private nursing homes or in the homes of their parents.

The three voluntary maternity hospitals, managed by Boards of Governors in conjunction with their Masters and medical staffs, offer the best medical attention that can be obtained. Dublin has been famous as a great teaching centre in Midwifery for two centuries and its present-day hospitals are upholding that great tradition and are enriching it by developing the latest advances in obstetrical technique. Their present usefulness far exceeds the services they offer to their own patients. As teaching hospitals they ensure that the many students and nurses trained within their walls are thoroughly versed in all aspects of the most modern obstetrical practice. In addition to improved surgical techniques, the discovery of many new drugs and of really safe anaesthetics has had far-reaching effects in reducing the risks and minimizing the discomforts of childbirth. Since the discovery in the early forties of safe anaesthetics (gas and air or 'trilene'), these have been made available to all patients without exception who may wish to avail themselves of them.

Champions of the free-for-all services, with their laudable concern for the needy, overlook the fact that the Dublin maternity hospitals set out to care for all mothers with the exception of one class, namely the wives of the well-to-do who are deliberately excluded from these hospitals. Money which is supposed to open all doors is powerless to obtain admission

to them and to the unrivalled facilities which they possess. As matters stand at present, it is the wealthier people in Dublin who are unable to obtain all the advantages of modern hospital techniques.

Though the percentage of children born in the Dublin hospitals (63.3 per cent) is far higher than the critics seem to realize, I readily admit that there is a grave shortage of maternity beds. The shortage has two ill-effects: first, it means that many mothers in need of hospital attention are unable to find beds; secondly, it leads to the undesirable practice of sending mothers home between the fifth and eighth day after childbirth. Both these factors undoubtedly have an adverse effect on the infant mortality rate. Sufficient beds must be made available to provide accommodation for all mothers in need of hospital services. Further the sufficiency must be such as will allow all mothers to be kept in the hospitals for the minimum period of ten days after childbirth.

The infant mortality rate for the country (the 26 counties) as a whole was 45 per thousand live births in 1950. This rate has shown a steady decline in recent years even under the present inadequate conditions. The mortality rate for Dublin city is higher than for the rest of the country despite the fact that hospital accommodation and specialist attention is more readily available in the city than elsewhere. This underlines the fact that infantile mortality is far more than an obstetrical problem. Besides the social problems involved in poverty and bad housing, infantile mortality is due largely to four main causes:

1. low standard of health on the part of mothers frequently due to improper diet; this is often caused by ignorance in choosing and preparing foods or by spending an undue proportion of their budget on dress and amusement rather than on food;
2. too brief a stay in hospital after childbirth;
3. the reluctance of many mothers to breast-feed their children; and
4. widespread ignorance of proper dieting and of the elements of infant hygiene.

The many great advantages of breast-feeding are insufficiently appreciated. It is the natural food and is more easily digested and more suitable than any substitute. It is received by the infant in an uncontaminated state, and this is of great importance especially for those living under unhygienic conditions. It contains all the vitamins required by the infant and also probably certain immune substances. For the mother, it is the cheapest food; it involves less trouble than bottle-feeding and, as the child is maintained in good health, it means less worry and less expense.

Outside the Dublin area it must be admitted that the progress in maternity services made in the past fifty years has been slight. The average number of births in the 26 counties annually is about 64,000; of these some 49,000 take place outside the Dublin area. In the few centres where voluntary maternity hospitals exist, e.g. Cork, Galway, Waterford, Limerick

and Drogheda, they have been poorly supported and as a result are for the most part ill-equipped. It is true that the local authority hospitals and county homes usually provide a few beds for maternity cases but these are totally inadequate to meet the minimum needs. Clinics are held at the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres in Cork, Limerick and Waterford. Milk and tonic foods are given to expectant and nursing mothers and instruction is given in infant management and methods of feeding. In rural areas the main burden of maternity work is borne by the local dispensary doctors and midwives who are often handicapped by being too far distant from well-equipped maternity centres to be able to profit by them in sudden emergencies. The fact that the infantile mortality rate is lower in the country districts than in Dublin despite the lack of hospital facilities is a striking tribute to the work of the local general practitioners and their nurses. It also confirms the view that the higher rate in Dublin is not primarily an obstetrical problem.

Turning to the recently proposed Mother and Child Scheme I should like to draw attention to the theoretical character of the proposals. From the meagre details released it was obvious that there was neither the organization nor the accommodation for the treatment of mothers and children on the general lines suggested. In broad outline the scheme was an extension for all of the present dispensary system with the addition of free-for-all treatment in the public wards of the existing hospitals. In the Dublin area this would mean the further over-taxing of the already inadequate resources with the result that the mothers of the poorer classes would have even less chance of obtaining beds than before.

In any worth-while Mother and Child scheme attention must be paid to the following points:

1. In the Dublin area additional accommodation is needed in the three existing voluntary hospitals. Their present bed-complement is too small and has not been kept in line with the increase in population of the city. The Rotunda and the National Maternity each contain 150 beds and need an addition of 100 beds in both. The new Coombe hospital should also have 250 beds. These additions would meet all normal needs. From the point of view of both medicine and economics it is preferable that instead of building an additional hospital or hospitals the existing ones should be thus enlarged. It is hardly necessary to stress the medical advantages that flow from clinical teaching in our maternity hospitals: experience amply proves that the patients benefit by the fact that the staffs of these hospitals must keep abreast of modern obstetrical development. Experience likewise shows that hospital units of about 250 beds are more efficient and more economical than are smaller units. It is highly desirable that 50 of the 250 beds in the enlarged hospitals be set aside for private patients who desire and are able to pay for that type of accommodation. This would mean that hospital accommodation would

be available for every class in the community and that no one, whatever her financial position, would be deprived of the opportunity of availing herself of modern hospital facilities.

2. In teaching centres such as Cork and Galway voluntary maternity hospitals run on similar lines to the Dublin hospitals should be provided and should be associated with the local medical Faculties.

3. In other provincial centres more hospital accommodation should be provided for groups of towns and the surrounding rural areas. Here hospital treatment would be available for all patients for whom it is necessary or desirable. In addition more nursing help should be provided for doctors who are in domiciliary practice. As a temporary measure to increase the needed bed accommodation throughout the country present buildings could be converted for that purpose, or structures of a temporary nature could be run up quickly and without great expense. Were these measures taken in conjunction with the development in rural areas of voluntary pre-natal care, the present low maternal mortality rate of 2 per thousand could be still further reduced.

As I have already mentioned, the infantile mortality rate in the country as a whole has shown a steady decline in recent years even under present inadequate conditions. To effect a further improvement attention must be devoted to the following questions:

1. the provision of adequate housing accommodation;

2. a better appreciation of the immense importance of the breast-feeding of infants;

3. the provision of facilities for instructing mothers in infant care and hygiene and in the elementary principles of diet;

4. the development of a system of competently trained 'health-visitors' working in conjunction with the existing hospitals and dispensary doctors. These trained visitors would follow up the patients, providing them with after-care and instruction in the management of infants in the months following birth. For the first year of the infant's life these visitors should keep in close touch with the mother, reporting their findings to the responsible doctor. In personal interviews in the mother's home they have a splendid opportunity of giving practical instructions and help where needed.

In these suggestions I have deliberately refrained from entering into the complicated question of how such a scheme should be financed. The first essential is to hammer out a suitable scheme. To my mind the financial problem will be best met by some form of contributory insurance, subsidized where necessary from the Central Fund.

JOHN F. CUNNINGHAM

MOTHER AND CHILD SERVICE

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCE

BY ALEXIS FITZGERALD, LL.B.

THE economics of the proposed free-for-all Mother and Child Scheme resolve into the question of how much the scheme would have cost, how would such cost have been paid for, and could such cost have been borne. It is of the first importance, even from a health point of view, that the community should adopt a correct economic and financial policy.

The Department of Health estimated the cost of the scheme at £2 million per annum. The Irish Medical Association made an estimate of £12 million. Neither estimate has been supported by any of the calculations which were no doubt made to arrive at the figures. Both the figures were propounded in a polemical atmosphere in which round figures were popular. Both figures must be suspect for it is clear that as the former Minister for Health wished the scheme to go through and the Association to prevent it, the one was as anxious to keep the cost estimate down as much as the other to inflate it. A test of the quality of the Department's estimate may be obtained by looking at what has happened in Britain. In the financial memoranda to the National Health Bills when they were introduced in Britain in 1946, it was estimated that the cost would be £126 million. This year the provision for the cost of the scheme is £398 million.

The extreme difficulty, therefore, of making a correct estimate is shown by these figures, but the difficulty cannot discharge us from the duty of attempting one. It suggests also that in the discussion of social policy it is prudent to make some examination of the costs estimated by the Ministers in charge of such policies. On a population basis and on costs similar to those in Britain, the British medical scheme which provides medicine free for all with no means test for the whole population of Britain of every age and condition would cost in the Republic about £27 millions. The health services provided here at the moment cost in taxation (both central and local) £8,800,000. To this figure must be added National Health expenditure amounting to £2 millions. If you add to this the current expenditure met by the Hospitals Commission and certain other items, the existing Public Assistance in relief of private health expense must amount to not far short of £12 millions per annum.

Over one-third of the population consists of mothers and children under the age of 16 years but it is calculated that they form a very much larger proportion of medical practice. The conservative estimate seems to be that the proportion is something over one half. If other things were equal, therefore, the British scheme applied to Ireland in the categories of mothers and children under the age of 16 years would cost £7½ millions. Other things would not, of course, remain equal in any comparison between Britain and Ireland. On the one hand the heavier British expenditure on subsidies means that the real cost of the scheme there is even higher

than that shown by the figures. If subsidization were at the Irish rate the cost of the scheme would be even higher, the taxpayer subsidizing the hospitals and the other costs which enter into the health estimates. A sparser distribution of the population lessens the scope for those economies possible with large numbers. There is further a greater need for hospital facilities in Ireland and the fact that our existing resources are proportionately lesser would add to the Irish cost. On the other hand national services probably cost less here than they do in England while the categories selected for benefit are unlikely to give rise to that hypochondriacal drain on the medical service which in Britain has almost destroyed the scheme. Nevertheless it could be anticipated that there would be inevitable waste of services provided free of charge. People do not husband or economize in the use of resources which are freely available to them. The necessity for economizing arises only when the resources are scarce. People value and are careful of those things which they have procured by giving up some of their own resources. Of the British scheme *The Economist* states in its issue of 11 March 1950:

> It would be proper to abandon altogether the principle that it (the Health Service) should be entirely free. Exactly how a charge could be imposed would need to be carefully thought out. There would certainly have to be a Means Test to avoid hardship but it has become quite obvious to all but the most prejudiced that a charge is the only way to bring home financial realities to patients and practitioners as well as to restore the health of the Health Service itself.

While the estimate of £7½ millions is of a gross character, it suggests strongly that it would not be prudent to rely on the Departmental estimate of £2 millions. The British experience and the absence of detail as to how the facilities were to be provided confirm this view. How should a contemplated expenditure of £7½ millions by provision of additional health services be regarded in the present economic circumstances? The expenditure on health by the Central Government in the year 1947–48 was £800,000. The proposed expenditure for this year is £3,200,000. A rate of increase which involves a multiplication by four of Central Government expenditure in a period of four years should be sufficient to satisfy even the most ambitious. It is impossible to think that an additional expenditure of the dimensions mentioned could prudently be undertaken. It is not sufficient to cite the British case or the British practice. Any comparison of British and Irish conditions must always have regard to the difference of resources in the two countries. The average income of the British subject is twice the average income of the Irish citizen. The Briton therefore can live at a rate which cannot be attempted by the Irishman until he has improved his income beyond its present level. The British social services can be therefore at a scale and of a quality which surpass anything the Irish community can provide with its existing national income. The British national income can bear an extravagance which

would crush with its burden the Irish. The burden of taxation in Britain is, it is true, higher than in Ireland. But it is an impressively held view that there has been a dangerous disregard of the necessity of maintaining a reserve of taxable capacity. The proportion of the national income taken by the public authorities in Britain is far in excess of that proportion of 25 per cent estimated by Colin Clarke to be safe. Ireland has at the moment just reached the danger line. It must be observed that Britain has high industrial productivity which can bear more severe taxation than can a country with lower agricultural productivity. It is insufficiently appreciated, for instance, that 10 per cent of the Irish national income never reaches the market at all but consists of farm produce which is consumed by farmers on the farm. Ten per cent of the Irish national income, therefore, never passes through the tax gatherers' mesh. Further, because of the system we have inherited, the agricultural contribution in the form of direct taxation to the revenue of the central government is negligible. An additional £7½ millions taxation would involve the passing of something under a further 3 per cent of that portion of the national income which comes under taxation from the free disposal of the people who have these incomes into the hands of the Government. It would represent an increase of almost 10 per cent in the present rate of taxation and, assuming an unchanged yield, a further 3/6d. in the £ income tax. It would amount to more than is at present spent on primary and secondary education combined and much more than all it is proposed to spend on defence.

It would be necessary to pay for the free-for-all scheme out of additional revenue which would have to be found either by increases in direct or indirect taxation. In so far as the taxation employed were indirect, it would be regressive or weigh proportionately heavier on the smaller than on the larger income group ; in so far as the taxation employed were direct, it would have a depressing effect on enterprise and production. A premium would be placed on leisure and the margin of income available for savings eaten into. Either form of taxation, whether direct or indirect, puts an increasing strain on the working population and if the burden of that strain is not supportable, relief will be sought in higher nominal wages and prices. A scheme might be made free to the people who were directly to avail themselves of it but it could not be made free to the community who must pay for it. In a country where the financing of public expenditure is becoming increasingly difficult, the less expenditure is shifted from the private to the public sphere the better Rural communities everywhere give rise to special problems of tax collection. The freedom of the scheme could not be maintained without an enormous correlative extension of the compulsions of taxation.

Enduring social policy must be laid on a sound economic basis. What is required is a policy which will create the income to enable standards of nutrition to be maintained and prevent the emergence of diseases which

require medical attention. In so far as the health statistics have in recent years improved, it is to the programme of capital investment that a large share of the credit must go. The Irish economic situation is difficult. It is particularly susceptible to the influence of world trends which are at the moment strongly inflationary. Despite these trends, it has been the government's policy, I think quite correctly, to foster domestic investment. Even a sound line of action very often carries its own dangers. It may be safer to stay in your home with heavy traffic on the road, but if you don't go out you will never reach the end of the street. There is the danger that large scale capital investment at once tends to press prices up and dissipate our external resources. It is a policy which would be put in peril if, when the aims are being ambitiously conceived, the means are not prudently administered. "The more" said a Minister of the Government "our social necessities compel us to forms of capital investment showing a social return only, the more carefully must we select schemes which can survive vigorous and careful financial examination." The greater the capital expenditure, the more stringent should be the current outlay. It is with nations as with individuals. The man who yesterday bought a new house cannot now entertain as he did the day before. The hospital development schemes which have been already launched need as their counterpart greater, not less, carefulness about other health expenditure. The dangers to which I refer are real and near. Over a period of four years over one-third of Ireland's net sterling holdings have been realized and brought home. Such realization is justifiable, even welcome, if it represents a true shift of foreign to domestic investment. To some extent it represents such a shift but unfortunately it seems clear that the deficits on the Balance of Payments are not due exclusively to improved domestic investment. Such a shift from foreign to domestic investment cannot in any case be for long maintained. Inevitably a substantial measure of external investment must be maintained as a cover for the liability to foreign holders of Irish capital and as a backing for the Irish currency. There are disagreeable implications of the fact that every Irish citizen spends about 7/– in every £1 in buying imported goods. The movement into domestic investment will be worth while only if it creates conditions tending to bring the movement itself to an end, that is, if it in fact lessens the national dependence on imports or increases the national ability to export. Expensive social policies may in these circumstances do great harm. Into an existing inflationary situation the Mother and Child scheme might have introduced a further inflationary factor. The argument, therefore, on general economic principles for prudence is overwhelming. This is not to argue, and I do not attempt to do so, that expenditure should not be incurred in doing justice to those needy members of society who suffer from or will otherwise become sufferers from disease. It is to argue that any expenditure which must be incurred must be shrewdly directed to reach such cases without waste.

ALEXIS FITZGERALD

MR. BLANSHARD: FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER

BY JOSEPH CREHAN, S.J.
Professor of Theology, Heythrop College, Oxon.

UP to the time of writing, Mr. Blanshard's attempt to carry his war against the Catholic Church over from America to Europe has not met with notable success. The appearance of his book[1] in London in February of this year (it had been first published in America with the title *American Freedom and Catholic Power*) happened to coincide with the beginnings of the uproar about the appointment of American commanders to the armed forces of the treaty-powers, and the British public was not in the mood to be lectured by an American on its duty in any of its aspects, and least of all perhaps on its duty towards a body of Catholics which, apart from its having the same Sacrifice and sacraments and reciting the same creed, has little resemblance to American Catholicism. When the British public was told by Mr. Blanshard (in a preliminary chapter entitled: It is a British problem too) that:

> This is a book not about the Catholic faith but about the cultural, political and economic policies of the rulers of the Catholic Church. It describes the way in which Catholic policy affects democracy in the United States, but in most of the places where I have written 'American', the reader could just as well write 'British', since the challenge that I describe is a challenge not to any one nation but to the whole democratic way of life. (p. 8),

there was no immediate reaction on the part of the public to call out the 'prentices and train-bands and to burn down the house of the Apostolic Delegate on Wimbledon Common.

I

Mr. Blanshard's philosophy of life is not obtruded on his reader, but peeps out here and there in corners of his narrative, and when descried, it is seen to be a secularism or liberalism of pure nineteenth century vintage. No religion is better than any other. If it makes the claim to be so, it is partisan and sectarian. Majorities, as long as they are American majorities, are always right. If Catholics seek to interfere with majority decisions, they become a "pressure-group". Religion is naturally limited to what a man does on Sunday mornings. What Mr. Blanshard charmingly calls "the non-devotional phases of conduct" have nothing to do with religion. Christ was "an impecunious prophet of Galilee who had no worldly possessions and no ecclesiastical rank." His immediate followers "gave no sign that they ever contemplated anything like this (the imperial splendour of the papacy) when they began to spread the tidings of their leader". With all this old-fashioned dogmatism there is a new note in what Mr. Blanshard writes. He dislikes "extremists of the type who have made anti-Catholicism a national disgrace in the past" (p. 280), and is willing to allow that: "Most

[1] *Freedom and Catholic Power*. By Paul Blanshard. London: Secker & Warburg. 1951.

Catholics feel that there is a core of truth in Catholic practice which no papal arrogance can destroy, and that the Church with all its faults has a transcendent moral message for the race " (p. 274). In the end he seems to want to lead a movement of liberation of democratically-minded Catholics from their ecclesiastical superiors. His predicament is understandable, even though one does not share it. He cites Bertrand Russell for the opinion (already twenty years old) that in fifty or a hundred years time the Roman Catholic Church would dominate the United States by sheer weight of numbers. Being half-inclined to admit this, and at the same time thinking that U.S.A. majorities must be right, he is bound to feel himself in a quandary. Argument and persuasion of the majority to take action while there is yet time, before they are turned into a minority, is his only way out, and hence the attempt to influence American opinion by his writings.

There is at present a Catholic majority in one of the states of America, Rhode Island, and Mr. Blanshard draws his picture of what might happen when there should be a majority of Catholics in three-fourths of the states of the Union. He drafts what he calls the first Catholic amendment which would then be made to the American Constitution, in these terms :

> The United States is a Catholic Republic, and the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is the sole religion of the nation.
>
> The authority of the Roman Catholic Church is the most exalted of all authorities ; nor can it be looked upon as inferior to the power of the United States government, or in any manner dependent upon it since the Catholic Church as such is a sovereign power . . . .
>
> Non-Catholic faiths are tolerated, but public ceremonies and manifestations other than those of the Roman Catholic religion will not be permitted.
>
> American religious education belongs preeminently to the Roman Catholic Church, by reason of a double title in the supernatural order, conferred exclusively upon her by God Himself.

In drafting these amendments he professes to have used existing Concordats and Catholic declarations such as those of the papal encyclicals, but he has made one important omission which is of peculiar relevance to an Irish reader. Although he can describe the American hierarchy in the following passage as entirely Irish, he does not advert to the fact that Ireland has produced in recent years a Constitution which might be expected to serve as a pilot model for any American Catholic lawmakers of the end of this century who might be in the position he describes and who would certainly not be more anxious to follow Spanish than Irish precedents, seeing that Ireland and the U.S.A. are Common Law countries, while Spain is not.

His description of the American church is given without comment ; it is in many ways typical of the book as a whole :

> In many sections of America the Church is virtually an Irish Church, operating under Irish priests and Cardinals. All but one of the nine native-born Cardinals of American history have been sons of Irish immigrant workers. This Irish dominance

explains many of the characteristics of American Catholicism. The Irish hierarchy which rules the American Church is a ' becoming ' class. It represents the Irish people struggling upward in a hostile environment, using the Roman system of authoritative power to compensate for an inner sense of insecurity which still seems to survive from the days when the Irish Catholics were a despised immigrant minority. Boston is aggressively Catholic largely because it is aggressively Irish, and it is aggressively Irish because its people have not quite overcome their sense of being strangers in a hostile land. Jealousy between the Irish and the Italians is only one phase of the competition among all immigrant groups to make good in the American environment. The growth of Catholic power in America is part of the Irish success story. Perhaps the Italians find compensation in the thought that the government of the universal Church is in Italian hands, that all the Popes for four hundred years have been Italians and that all the Apostolic Delegates have been fellow-countrymen (p. 30).

No one pretends that the relations of Church and state are an easy matter to define ; indeed Sir Ernest Barker has said that the relation of the Christian Church to the community-state is perhaps the profoundest question in history (*Essays on Government*, p. 253), and yet Mr. Blanshard sets out to solve it with an assemblage of press-cuttings, a philosophical outlook that dates with Herbert Spencer or John Morley, and the advice of a gynaecologist, a Protestant theologian, a retired Harvard professor of Church History and " Giovanni Pioli of Milan, former vice-rector of the Propaganda Pontifical College for Roman Catholic Missions ". At a time when sociologists are beginning to see that there may be advantages for the community in having an independent spiritual power alongside the state, as a means of saving the people from the urge towards totalitarianism, and that the Catholic theory of the " indirect power " is therefore not the bogey it once seemed to be, Mr. Blanshard is still in the Never-Never land of nineteenth century Liberalism, where men reach out towards a state of personal virtue from which all dogma is excluded and each surpasses the other in desire of the common good.

Dr. Julian Huxley has given Mr. Blanshard's book a send-off, though this same Doctor was writing two years ago that :

> It is of great importance for a society to possess some kind of ideological driving force . . . When religious belief is strong, it may supply the ideological drive ; but this is assuredly not the case in the Western world to-day, where religion . . . . no longer provides a dominant appeal to the majority of the people. In the U.S.S.R. . . . communism does provide such an appeal. (*Nature*, June 25, 1949).

In place of the " indirect power " of a Church, Huxley can only suggest that the embattled scientists of the world (gathered together by Unesco ?) might supply the ideological drive so sadly lacking to the Western world. The Fuchs episode and the other trials of scientists in America do not seem to afford much hope in that direction. Scientists as a body are far from being a " perfect society ", in the sense in which the Church is, and they would need more than knowledge to put them on a plane above that of the state, from which plane they could intervene with ideological

drive and correctives to aid a sick society. Huxley has realized that *laissez faire* philosophy is not enough to defend the West against Communism, but Blanshard is still nourishing his illusions. " In the long run, the capacity to defend democracy against a communist dictatorship must be based upon a free culture ", he says, without enlarging upon his notion of freedom. Thus he begs the whole question. As a writer on this topic in the *Times Literary Supplement* recently remarked :

> We ought surely to try to formulate our ideals more precisely, or at any rate more positively. Our opponents are adepts at the use of vague generalities, and we should be well advised not to try to compete with them. One hears, for example, too often of the " free democracies ", though presumably no one intends to distinguish them from democracies that are not free or free countries that are not democracies. Freedom itself is in danger of becoming a mere slogan.

II

Sir Shane Leslie has put on record that the prayer of one of his remote ancestors before battle ran thus : " If we be sinners, they are not saints ; be not against us but stand neuter this day, and let the arm of the flesh decide ". The disciple of nineteenth century Liberalism takes up the same attitude to God when confronted by the challenge of communism. He does not realize that neutrality towards God is not enough for individual or for state. In particular the American disciple cherishes the First Amendment to his own Constitution which reads : " Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ", and he does not see that what is needed is rather something of the form : " The state acknowledges that the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God. It shall hold His Name in reverence, and shall respect and honour religion ". The First Amendment came about almost by accident when it was desired to prevent the Anglican Established Church in Virginia being extended to the whole Union, but now it is being made into the cornerstone of American liberty. But apart from the accidents of history, it can be argued on abstract philosophical principles that it is the duty of the state to encourage any movement that leads to the further knowledge of God and therefore to have a bias in favour of revealed religion. Aristotle, who did not accept the immortality of the soul, thought that man should make it his end in life to play the immortal in contemplation as best he could, while Plato, who did accept it, glimpsed that there might be, by some divine destiny, an imparting of truth to man beyond what his wit could discern. This imperfectly-sketched argument St. Thomas completed for these philosophers by saying :

> Creatures are infinitely distant from God and therefore there is no term to the progress of the creature, but each creature must be assimilated to God more and

more, as far as its nature permits. Thus too, the human mind ought to be moved to know ever more and more of God according to its capacity. (*In Boethium de Trin.* 2. 1, *ad* 7).

This is the one case where the idea of Progress is valid. One can admit with all those who have written against it since Dean Inge denounced it in 1920, that the idea of Progress is responsible for many of our present miseries. One can reecho the strictures of Aldous Huxley's latest sermon :

> Progress—the theory that you can get something for nothing; the theory that you can gain in one field without paying for your gain in another ; the theory that you alone understand the meaning of history ; the theory that you know what's going to happen fifty years from now ; the theory that, in the teeth of all experience, you can foresee all the consequences of your present actions ; the theory that Utopia lies just ahead . . . . (*Ape and Essence* p. 94).

But even so there remains just that one point where the idea is true, not as a fact but as a duty for man in his relation to God. Blanshard has nothing of all this buzzing through his head. His great unspoken ideal seems to be that all Americans should be 100% Americans while they live on earth, with no regard to the hereafter. They should protect society against the production of feeble-minded citizens ; they should share his own hearty contempt for medieval mummery such as goes on at the Vatican ; they should exercise control of population so as to preserve " minimum standards of social decency " ; they should " realistically " accept permissive euthanasia when they grow old and feeble.

What they should do with their black brothers, he does not say. It is indeed remarkable that Mr. Blanshard can get through his whole book with this one reference to the negro question :

> When clerical privileges and Roman dogma are not involved, the American hierarchy is frequently quite liberal in its policies on race relations and civil rights. Its recent pronouncements on fair play for negroes in employment and in the educational world have greatly strengthened the movement for racial justice in this country. (p. 242).

His diagnosis is of course incorrect. It is not the unaided and unprovoked enterprise of the American bishops which has produced their teaching on racial questions. It will not do to oppose the freedom-loving American bishop to the authoritarian Roman ecclesiastic ; for at the height of the Nazi power in 1938 there was issued from Rome a document which Mr. Blanshard, apt as he is to quote Roman documents, does not mention, the letter to Cardinal Baudrillart on racial questions. One of the propositions there held up to reprobation was this : " The races of mankind, by their natural and unchangeable characteristics, are so different one from another that the lowest among them is further removed from the highest than it is from the higher animal species. All that conduces to racial vigour and purity of blood is *ipso facto* good and lawful." Mr. Blanshard must forego his vision of an American archbishop leading a filibuster at a future General Council and recognize that some of the good that he

sees in American Catholicism is due to the teaching of Rome. He should have studied the picture drawn by Herbert Vaughan (afterwards Cardinal) who visited America in 1871 to inaugurate a mission to the negroes with priests from Mill Hill, and then he would see that good-hearted liberal Americanism was not enough.

> " Priests and Religious," wrote Herbert Vaughan, " look upon us with the same kind of wonder that we should entertain for an Order of men who had made a vow to live in the wards of a small-pox hospital. Poor negro race, has it come to this? Or rather, I should say, poor Christians, is this your state? " (*Letters to Lady Herbert of Lea*, p. 241).

It is a pity to deprive Mr. Blanshard of his heroes, but he has certainly fallen into confusion over the Bp. Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas, whom he describes as holding out to the bitter end at the Vatican Council and voting *Non placet* to the definition of Papal infallibility. Cardinal Gibbons, who was present, said afterwards that what Fitzgerald said was *Nunc placet*, and that he was misreported as voting against the definition. It is wide of the mark, then, for Blanshard to write :

> Fitzgerald knew what reception an American would get in Arkansas who voted for the proposition that a Pope could not make a mistake in matters of faith and morals. (p. 28).

Perhaps in recompense, he will adopt as hero the American bishop who asked the Council to define that negroes had souls. The subject was placed on the agenda, and this time it was not the wicked papacy but the lily-white liberal government of Italy which stayed the proceedings, and the matter awaits the calling of the next general council.

III

Sixty years ago Lord Bryce, in his account of the American Republic, gave as the reason for the separation of Church and State the principle of equality :

> It holds any attempt at compulsion by the civil power to be an infringement on liberty of thought as well as liberty of action, which could be justified only when a practice claiming to be religious is so obviously anti-social or immoral as to threaten the well-being of the community . . . Even if state action stops short of the imposition of disabilities and confines itself to favouring a particular church . . . , this is an infringement of equality. (*The American Commonwealth*, vol. II, p. 574).

Yet in his excepting clause, so lightly laid down in 1890, lies one of the problems of the present. Communism is precisely a way of life claiming the adherence of the whole man, as fully as any creed, and it threatens the well-being of the state. It looks as if on that score alone the ideal of equality must abate somewhat of its mathematical rigour, even on the most liberal principles. But further, it is not a true picture of the state's attitude

to religion to represent it as holding the ring, preventing foul-play as between the churches and seeing that they contend fairly for the allegiance of men. The state is bound, no less than the individual, to further any movement that leads to the greater knowledge of God. When St. Thomas More described in his *Utopia* a state devoid of the light of revelation, he made certain remarkable provisions, or rather his King Utopus did so. Laws were made in Utopia that forbade men to argue publicly against the immortality of the soul or the providence of God or to use contentions and debate about religion.

> For as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn and in their evil opinion most constant, he perceived that the best and holiest religion would be trodden underfoot by most vain superstitions, even as good corn is by weeds overgrown and choked.

Men who denied immortality or providence were excluded from public office, and the Utopians prayed publicly that if there were any other religion more acceptable to God than their own, He might of His goodness let them have knowledge thereof.

The Church does not expect the State to be a mere instrument for her policies, but does expect that, overcoming an attitude of non-interference, the State shall take positive steps to remove major hindrances to the wider acceptance of the religion which God has once and for all revealed. An obvious example occurs in the state administration of religious broadcasting.

Lord Bryce does remark in a footnote that as Christianity is said to be a part of the Common Law of England, so it might be expected that it would equally be part of the Common Law in the U.S.A. American Catholics do not seem to have produced a legal authority of the standing of the late Lord Russell of Killowen who might have argued the point for them in their courts. But the point is not an idle one. So much depends, in the practical working out of the Common Law, on the sanctity of an oath that, when the religious sanction for the oath is removed, the Judge is left with what are often inextricable tangles of circumstantial evidence, and perjury may be present on both sides to a dispute.[1] Similarly it is difficult, as was shown in the Fuchs case, to rely upon declarations of loyalty that a man may make upon the occasion of his naturalization, if an oath has no force with him. Again, at the accession of George V an observer noted how the Jewish members of the Privy Council took the oath on an Old Testament and the Catholics upon a Douay Bible, but when there are councillors who accept no Bible, what are they to do?

[1] Count de Tocqueville in 1835 noted that a New York judge rejected a witness who declared his disbelief in the existence of God, remarking that he had not been aware that any man living disbelieved in the existence of God, that such belief was the sanction of all testimony in a court of law and that he knew of no cause in a Christian country where a witness had been allowed to testify without such belief. *Democracy in America*, vol. I, p. 306. One wonders what a New York judge would say in similar circumstances to-day.

All these points of contact between Church and State (and there are many more) show that the State has much to gain by encouraging a healthy condition of religious belief within its borders.

The nineteenth century Liberal, of the type of Blanshard, is perhaps extinct in many parts of the Western world to-day, but the eighteenth century Liberal had a mentality still more difficult to understand at the present time. Jefferson, who is held to be the principal author of the First Amendment to the American Constitution, had all the brash Yankee cocksureness of those early Republican days. He was under the spell of that Humian (and Newtonian) optimism about the nature of man which laughed at original sin and denied the presence of a surd element in mankind making the scientific treatment of human nature impossible. Jefferson wrote :

> Almighty God hath created the mind free . . . All attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His Almighty power to do, but to extend its influence on reason alone.

This was to ignore the words of Christ about binding upon earth and holding unrepentant men as the heathen and the publican, and it blurred the distinction between the treatment of a man who has never yet accepted the claims of Christ and that of the man who has guiltily withdrawn his original acceptance. It was the fear of coercion (and coercion to the Anglicanism of Virginia) that made Jefferson strive for his Amendment. If his theoretical error made him go too far on the other side and deny the lawfulness of any religious influence upon the State, direct or indirect, the result of this excess is now plain to see, for ' loyalty probes ' and Action committees have had to take the place of the Christian oath in a secularized American society. Between the Christian's pledged word and the police-state there seems to be hardly a middle way, even for Mr. Blanshard.

Count de Tocqueville has some passages of remarkable insight in his account of American democracy as he saw it in 1835 and as he judged it would develop. One of the most remarkable is the diagnosis whereby he claims that democracy will produce not the sumptuous depravity and splendid corruption of a Nero, but, through its principle of equality, a high general level of comfort : " a kind of virtuous materialism, which would not corrupt but enervate the soul and noiselessly unbend its springs of action ". This does in fact seem to have come about in the cities, except in so far as the Christian religion, with its urge towards charitable works has corrected it. On a par with this is the Count's prophecy that : " Our posterity will tend more and more to a division into only two parts, some relinquishing Christianity entirely and others returning to the Church of Rome." Had Mr. Blanshard set out to comment on

de Tocqueville's diagnosis, rather than to conjure up nostrums and incantations out of his own head, he would have served American democracy better. A capital text for his consideration would be this :

> The greatest part of British America was peopled by men who, having shaken off the authority of the Pope, acknowledged no other religious supremacy : they brought with them into the New World a form of Christianity which I cannot better describe than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. . . . About fifty years ago Ireland began to pour a Catholic population into the United States ; and on their part the Catholics of America made proselytes, so that at the present moment more than a million Christians professing the truths of the Church of Rome are to be found in the Union. These Catholics are faithful to the observances of their religion ; they are fervent and zealous in the belief of their doctrines. Yet they constitute the most republican and democratic class in the United States. (*Democracy in America*, vol. I, p. 300).

The one million of 1835 has become the twenty-seven millions of 1951. One cannot fail to realize that American democracy is the more surely established for that fact. Some may rally to the Progressive scientist who cries : " We must defend our comfort. Euthanasia is in danger and the Mason-Dixon line. Ruthless Communists would rob us of TV, coca-cola and the ice-box." But more Americans, I fancy, look upon the American way of life as being bound up with certain liberties that are enshrined in Magna Carta, a document which a reluctant monarch brought himself to sign : " for the safety of our soul, for the honour of God and for the praise of Holy Church ". Catholics have a way of reminding their fellow-citizens of these liberties, if only by insisting on them for themselves. To have learnt from the New Testament that God is not a respecter of persons and that the labourer is worthy of his hire, to take only two of its principles, gives a man more democracy than he would get from a dozen Blanshards.

American Catholics would be the last to claim that everything about the Church in America is perfect, but there is one aspect of it that is worth special attention to-day, though Blanshard does not advert to it, and that is the function of harbourage which American Catholicism performs towards Catholic scholarship from other lands. Just as the scholars from Bordeaux and the Loire valley are said to have found refuge in Ireland from the barbarian inroads (and will no Irish scholar give us a history of this migration ?), so now there has been taking place a migration, or drift, or flight, of Catholic learning towards the U.S.A., a movement coinciding with the rise of level of Catholic culture in America itself, so that the consequences of the interaction of these two movements can be expected to have great importance both for the Church as a whole and for American democracy. If the next Pope was an American and came to live in New York, Mr. Blanshard would be there waving his flag along with the rest.

JOSEPH CREHAN

TWO VIEWS ON SPAIN

BY GEORGE A. KOLKHORST
Reader in Spanish in the University of Oxford

RECENTLY two books have appeared on Spain that can be taken together and regarded as complementary. They are *The Face of Spain* by Gerald Brenan, and *Cinderella of Europe* (*Spain Explained*) by Sheila M. O'Callaghan.[1] Mr. Brenan's picture is arresting and vivid ; he is attractive, entertaining, human ; and he writes with verve. Miss O'Callaghan is less colourful ; her style is pedestrian, dry, at times even cumbrous ; but, to counter-balance Mr. Brenan's lively theorizings and opinions, we have her—sober—facts. Her book is packed with information, with statistics. We may be carried away by Mr. Brenan ; Miss O'Callaghan will check us and our vagaries. She is the invaluable corrective.

I

Spain is an old love of Mr. Brenan's. He returns there after a number of years, eager to ascertain what has been happening since the Civil War when he left. And he finds what he rather expected. Things have deteriorated. Poverty and starvation, indeed, now stalk the land. His description of conditions in Andalusia makes the flesh creep. He travels about conscientiously and is indefatigable in his investigations and soundings of the inhabitants. These all have the same tale to tell. Typical is the summing-up of the sad-faced elderly woman at the inn at Aguilar : " No trade, no work, no bread. We are just rotting away. We have nothing to do but wait for the grave diggers to come and bury us."

Those who are lucky enough to get work on the land are paid wages that are wholly inadequate. The rations are " not enough to keep a dog alive." A handful of rich, of course, flourish,—absentee landowners, disporting themselves " in their palaces and marble courts " in the distant capital and buttressing the Black Market. The rest are, one and all, utterly disillusioned. And they look it ! " One sees men and women whose faces and bodies are coated with dirt because they are too weak or too sunk in despair to wash in water. One sees children of ten with wizened faces, women of thirty who are already hags, wearing that frown of anxiety which perpetual hunger and uncertainty about the future give."

In such a " Belsen atmosphere " well may one's social conscience prick one and make one ask : " What right has one to eat good meals, to drink coffee, to buy pastries when people are starving all round one ? "—One has, of course, " no right at all ! "

[1] *The Face of Spain*, By Gerald Brenan. London : Turnstile Press, 1950. 15s. *Cinderella of Europe*, By Sheila M. O'Callaghan. London : Skeffington, 1950. 12s. 6d.

Most dreadful are those who creep about the streets without arms or legs. For the maimed and wounded are everywhere,—the legacy of the Civil War. Indeed, those massacred outright might be deemed to have been lucky. And the lists of the wretches executed by the Nationalists reach astronomical figures.

Very horrible is the description of the bone-pit in the cemetery above Granada,—where the bodies of the shot were indiscriminately flung. The author was looking for the grave of the poet García Lorca, which, however, in the end he traced to Viznar, a small village some miles away in the hills.

The Civil War has left in its wake a smouldering resentment. Everywhere is hate. It will be impossible for the people to forget.

Wicked as the rich are, not all of them are selfish. Some do try to do good. In Aguilar, for instance, a rich widow has built and endowed a fine new house to hold twelve poor married couples, as well as a home for old people elsewhere in the town. What is the local reaction?

> I got the impression that little gratitude was felt for this act of benevolence and even that there existed a certain resentment against rich people who belied the general reputation of their kind for being screws and misers. For is not generosity too a luxury?

It is an ugly frame of mind. And hopeless. Only when everyone without exception has been dragged down to the same abject level of poverty and misery will the general "social conscience" presumably be appeased. Hatred reigns. And envy. Everywhere one sees it, even in the world of letters, which one might fancy would be immune. In Cordova the great poet Góngora is ignored. "I suspect that at bottom no Spaniard really believes that there are such people as great men, or, if he does believe it, he resents it. If he cared to take the trouble, he thinks, he could do as well or better himself."

Wealth, genius, brains, anything in any way distinguished or outstanding excites one emotion only—envy.

And with envy goes cruelty, and a strange love of pain that Mr. Brenan finds significantly expressed in Spanish Art: that craving, as he says, "for extracting every drop of emotion out of a situation, for carrying every feeling and especially every painful feeling, to a point of orgasm." There is a positive revelling in death, in the smell of the charnel house.

What then,—one may well ask,—can one do with such a people? Govern them!—is at least one answer, though it is not Mr. Brenan's. Govern them. Save them from themselves. That is what all the rulers worthy of the name that Spain has had have attempted to do. Spain, it can be argued, has been saved by her few great men. Mr. Brenan tries hard to be fair-minded, but does he make enough allowance for the extraordinary difficulty of running such a country? And the possibility that General Franco may, after all, be one of the few great ones never seems

to have entered his head. The very idea, one supposes, would strike him as absurd, and distasteful. Which to others might look uncommonly like prejudice !

And yet he seems to hold a brief for Primo de Rivera. Or his interlocutors do. Dogmatic as he often is, there are times when we could wish he were a little more definite. He has some rather unkind things to say about the English :—" The pattern of English life, seen from the outside, seems soft and shapeless, our minds damp and hesitating and our pulses slow." " Our thoughts are obscure and muffled and not to be conveyed in speech or writing." Is he perhaps visualizing in particular himself ? For there certainly are times when he vacillates. And this leads to inconsistencies, to contradictions. Thus, in moments of elation, he " never grows tired of Spanish light and scenery." Yet elsewhere, in a calmer mood, he can refer to Spain as " this great, barren land, with its poverty and its tedium ". Every little pueblo feels itself beleaguered by the deadly boredom of the sun-drenched sierras and plains. And La Mancha at any rate with its " monotonous wall of slate and basalt mountains " enclosing the view,—" hard in colour as iron slag and marked with innumerable folds and wrinkles ",—and its dried up river beds, scarcely sounds indefinitely inspiring :—" The deadness and glumness of La Mancha ". . . . At Daimiel the only restful spot is the interior of the church. " There one can escape from the heat and the glare, the flies and the boredom ". Which would appear to be what churches actually are for ! Religion is explained,—as an escape from boredom ! Religion in Castile, we learn, is the product of little stagnant towns set in great sun-drenched plateaux. An explanation that is curious ! Boredom ! Thereby, it would seem, hangs a tale ! . . . .

Then, of course, everywhere, through the prevailing corruption and bad government, through Franco and his satellites, starvation threatens and discontent is rife. " The result is that no labourer does more work [when there *is* work] than he can help." Yet, two pages further on, we are informed that " the land has never been so well cultivated before ". And even the frightful Black Market has " its better side ". It offers facilities to hard-working and enterprising persons of all classes to rise in the social scale. Very large numbers of poor people, we are informed, are engaged in it in a small way and many of them have succeeded in bettering themselves. Which means presumably that not every humble and worthy person is starving ; so that perhaps, after all, we need not go the length of starving ourselves, in protest or sympathy. In Churriana Mr. Brenan finds his old home happily intact and his Spanish servants reassuringly faithful and comfortable. In near-by Málaga there are even signs—outwardly only, it is true—of prosperity, and Mr. Brenan describes with gusto the evening promenade, the characteristically Spanish *paseo*,

which he finds as gay and exhilarating as ever. Part of the Spanish scene anyway has not lost its traditional animation, its native vitality and charm. " The general impression made by this city in its hours of leisure is one of expansiveness and vitality. The Englishman, fresh from the dull hurry of London streets and from their sea of pudding faces—faces which often seem to have known no greater grief than that of having arrived too late in the chocolate or cake queue—feels recharged and revitalised when he bathes himself in this river." And Mr. Brenan admits that he can still find in Spain a kind of freedom and spontaneity that he misses in England :—" What in our country one gains in order and social justice, one loses in zest and vitality." In spite of everything ! In spite of Franco, the old stirring rhythm of Spanish life goes on,—and Mr. Brenan is beginning to enjoy himself ! Indeed, on reaching Cordova, he exclaims :—" Here, but for three or four friends, I could live *ad aeternitatem*, speaking my bad Spanish and sunk in the pleasure of contemplating the scenes around me . . . . England is a fine country for many things, but, unless they go abroad, its inhabitants cannot know the true meaning of *la douceur de la vie*." Aguilar and Lucena and the destitute hill towns appear to have been left well behind !

In this Southern atmosphere even Mr. Brenan's stern and staunch Republicanism seems to soften a trifle, and on occasion he goes so far as to admit that there were Red shootings as well as ' Fascist ' ones. But here complete impartiality and detachment are more difficult to come by. When he mentions a Communist massacre he is apt somehow to convey the feeling that there were extenuating circumstances, and the horrors are glossed over. One must condemn the crimes of the Right, but those of the Left one can condone.

There is, for instance, the parish priest of Puertollano. Mr. Brenan is fair to him—up to a point. He told Mr. Brenan that the Reds had burned all the retablos and pictures in the church [this Mr. Brenan could himself confirm] and had tried to set fire to the building too, but its strength had resisted them. Only a corner of the roof had fallen in. He himself had spent two years in prison with fifty-six other priests, fifty-two of whom had been shot. During this time he had slept on the floor in a very confined space, suffering cold and hunger : on several occasions he had been led out to be shot, placed against a wall and then brought in again. They did this in the hopes of breaking their spirit.

> On learning that we were English, he gave us a political lecture. The Reds, he said, had found many admirers in England, because we did not know the things they had done : we had even ostracised the Franco regime. Yet Franco had brought to Spain order and peace . . . . While the rest of the world was racked by disorders and strikes, life in Spain proceeded in an orderly way.
>
> After this harangue, he showed us with great pride his new altar . . . .

And Mr. Brenan goes on :—

It is not wise to argue with Spaniards over their own affairs ; otherwise I might have pointed out to this excellent priest that, if the Military and the Falange had not risen in July 1936 and from the first day started killing in holocausts, none of these terrible things would have happened.

There, of course, we have it ! It is the same old Left wing travesty and distortion again. From the parish priest Mr. Brenan stands sceptically, suspiciously, even derisively, aloof. But the stories of Nationalist—" Fascist "—outrages he does not summarily dismiss with an amusing or facetious term like " harangue ". They move him to impassioned outbursts of indignation. He is bitter. As at Granada.—" It is significant that the patroness of the city, *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias*, Our Lady of Agonies, is represented by the figure of a weeping woman holding the head of the dead Christ on her lap. In this city of blood and massacre she might stand for any woman of the working classes."

Mr. Brenan does not allow for any provocation from the other side—*his* side—that may have preceded the Nationalist " massacres ". He does not mention the preliminary reign of terror in the South, encouraged by the Leftist Government. The little dramas enacted in towns and villages.

Whooping gangs of 15 to 19 year olds would arrive in half a dozen lorries. The first point they made for was the Guardia Civil barracks and the four or five guards off duty were massacred probably before they woke up. The Priest no doubt went next. (Often his only crime had been to attempt to instil some rudiments of knowledge into them when they were children ; against seemingly insuperable odds . . . Try to teach writing verbally—with no blackboard, no slates, no equipment beyond one set of block capital letters which the priest himself had made out of cardboard !) His—the Priest's—body was usually hung up in the pork butcher's. Before many minutes a very pretty massacre of " fascists " was on. Probably not 1% of the mob knew what a Fascist was ; but that made no difference. Get a mob bloodthirsty. Shout " Kill the Fascists ! There's a Fascist, kill him, kill him ! " And that's that !

And the Government did nothing at all to protect the people and their own Guards.

(The quotation this time is *not* from Mr. Brenan).

A general massacre of all " Fascists ", including the families of officers—at that moment the greater part of these were with the Army in Africa—was the next major item in the programme. But Franco brought the Army over just four days or so too soon. The fun, however, was already started. In certain places. In Huelva, for instance.

A British destroyer turned up to rescue the Rio Tinto staff and their families, and the British colony was not molested. But ask one of those engineers what happened to the Spanish doctor, wife, and two daughters. The two daughters who used to go to the dances. And what happened to other ' Fascist ' girls ? . . . . When the Army arrived, it was like a rabbit shoot . . . . The soldiers extended and " walked up " the game out of the scrub. Later on when Franco got to villages or towns where his soldiers' homes *had* been and they found out the fate of *their* sisters, they got pretty rough . . . . It was not a Fascist army obeying the orders of Fascist officers. It was just an army of mixed, decent Spaniards horrified at what was happening to their own families.

It will be impossible, says Mr. Brenan, for the Spanish people to forget. It will be wise,—one may assure him,—for a great many other people besides the Spaniards *not* to do so either.

II

It is at this point that Miss O'Callaghan is particularly welcome with her dispassionate array of cold, hard facts. She clinches the matter. She is unreservedly pro-Franco. And she says specifically why. She states the Franco case, and examines in detail the events that led up to the Civil War. She stresses the total lack of legality of the Republic that Franco supplanted. The King, victim of a disgraceful plot, had been forced into exile, despite the monarchist majority. The " democratic " government that followed was inconceivably corrupt. The facts about its leading members are coldly stated. And they are deadly. Yet the " democrats " among them could certainly talk—and write—big !

Unamuno himself turned on his former collaborators. He told Parliament :—" Injustice has been adopted as the normal standard, and abuses have become a fundamental principle of politics. To be governed by Socialists when the great majority is not socialist, but is in most cases anti-socialist, is to be misgoverned." Three years later he was to declare :— " It is not a matter of civil war alone ; it is the defence of civilisation against barbarism." As this true patriot perceived, the Franco victory saved Spain from Bolshevism.

Miss O'Callaghan gives a succinct definition of Fascism. Fascism, like Bolshevism, is simply State worship. But all the wilful distortion and misrepresentation from which Spain suffers cannot alter the fact that the Franco regime has never been a Fascist one. It is too Christian for that. " Christian ethics are implicit in its whole programme." Again, " the idea of the whole scheme is levelling upwards, not downwards." The middle-classes are not sacrificed. Attention however, is specially focussed on the welfare of the proletariat. Every effort is made to better their lot, not only materially but also morally. The aim is " to mould a new type of Spanish citizen on the lines of self-reliance, usefulness, and social responsibility." Yet there is no lack of freedom, independence, variety. " The dictator's ' one party ' government finds repugnant the idea of regimenting the whole nation into a same-for-all scheme." The ingrained individualism of the Spaniard is respected, though its centrifugal tendencies must be checked. " Falange tries to do for Spaniards what they are not naturally prone to do well for themselves : get together and stick together." The great bond is religion. The ultimate Authority the Church. Franco is a loyal son of the Church, and, as the basic inspiration in the shaping of his policy, we find " the famous *Encyclical* of Pope Leo XIII entitled *Rerum Novarum*, which has become the stock

pattern of how a Christian state should conduct its human affairs, and which defined the goal of all social reform as the reconciliation and collaboration of each and every class in Christian charity."

Connected with this is the importance attached to the family :— " the family as the foundation and mainstay of society."

Certainly the goal is not yet within sight. There is great distress and poverty. But who is to blame for it ? The Civil War, forced on the country by the " Popular Front ", natural handicaps, and the artificial ones resulting from the economic ostracism of Spain by the Powers. Heroic efforts are being made to put things right. There are efficient official organizations to relieve want, such as the *Auxilio Social,* which the Nationalists set going during the Civil War, and which was soon feeding 1,044,968 adults and children in 4,308 centres and had opened 25 homes to shelter 1,500 orphans as well. " Land colonization is most thriving and successful in some of the southern and south-eastern provinces. In many places the new tenant farmers are accommodated in specially built small towns and villages." Family allowances are forthcoming and free houses for large families of the working class. In the towns there is extensive building of up-to-date workers' flats.

It may be objected by the adherents of Mr. Brenan that Miss O'Callaghan's book is written too much from the official point of view. But they need reminding that there is the official point of view, and Miss O'Callaghan makes it sound pretty conclusive. And if the official aspirations tend to be Utopian, they are surely none the worse for that. Spain is still the land of Don Quixote. She is still true to herself.

III

But it is a relief to turn from politics. Miss O'Callaghan has had her say—and it has been impressive. Mr. Brenan has further things to tell us. His picture, indeed, would be genial enough, if only he would leave politics out of it. If only he would curb his impetuosity and that incorrigible propensity to lend an ear to the profound—or less profound—political pronouncements of every chance chauffeur, idler, innkeeper, of people in railway carriages and men on buses. " I drew him on to political subjects ", is the inevitable prelude, the opening gambit. And there follows the pious retailing of the popular oracle. Why—one might well ask—not take the tittle-tattle with a grain or two of salt ? Especially Spanish tittle-tattle. Spain is a country of irresponsible talk,—and, one fears, irresponsible action. But at least one need not take the former too seriously. And even the action can be viewed up to a point with a certain reserve. The Spaniards notoriously go one better than other peoples. So we find that where other nations have strikes of industrial workers, the Spaniards stage a strike of the keepers of the lunatic asylums,

whose charges then roam at large ! There is a side to the Spanish character that irresistibly brings to mind the wise men of Gotham. They are a sweet people, though—maybe *because*—they are ingenuous and ignorant. Like children. But, also like children, when they lose control of themselves and there is no one to restrain them, they become fearsome. They themselves are, many of them, well aware of their idiosyncrasies and acknowledge that they have their comic side. But perhaps too much irresponsible humour would, after all, spoil Mr. Brenan's particular brand of fun. For he himself observes that the spectacle of poverty and human misery can be one of the attractions of Southern travel. There are, it seems to him, at least four times as many street sellers in Málaga as there used to be, and more than four times the number of beggars. One cannot sit in a café for ten minutes without a ragged boy coming in on all fours, so that the waiters may not see him, to collect cigarette ends. Then there are the armless and legless, the sick women carrying sick children, the brigade of bootblacks and lottery vendors. And he comments :—

> This search for food going on visibly under one's eyes can be distressing, yet it is also, one must in honesty admit, stimulating. It charges the air with real desires and cravings. We feel a long way from Bournemouth and Torquay with their torpid, slug-like existences.

This is Life—in the raw. One gets down to it. No fear of boredom now ! . . . .

There is at times perhaps a slight air of patronage about Mr. Brenan that recalls that peculiar Left wing phenomenon, the intellectual sneer,—a compound, one sometimes surmises, of Balliol and Bloomsbury ? . . . .

And even in matters divorced from politics he can be categorical—*and* self-contradictory. He is interested and well versed in the Arts. He has much to say about Spanish churches. The parish church of Santa María at Mérida appealed to him in particular and confirmed his impression that " Spanish Gothic is an intrinsically finer style than French." " All the proportions of the building are designed to calm and satisfy—not pressed together into a high narrow passage like most French and English Gothic, but giving out round them a feeling of space and of the circulation of air ".—How upsetting, then,—how stultifying,—is the Spanish habit (discussed elsewhere) of planting a bulky, enclosed choir in the middle of the nave ! This is obviously " particularly fatal to Gothic buildings, which are best seen in long diagonal vistas." So the French and the English score after all ? It is all a trifle confusing. We don't quite know where we stand. Perhaps some day Mr. Brenan will give us his final, his definitive —considered—opinion on this, as on other matters. In the meantime we can continue to enjoy with him his graphic, if sporadic, impressions.

When he comes to El Greco, he has exciting things to say. A vexed question nowadays is Greco's Byzantinism. Cossío leaves the matter open, but with sensible warnings. Mr. Brenan is all for Byzantium :—

" The Key to El Greco is his theological Byzantine mind which informs his vision." The Eastern Church, with its special devotion to the Paraclete, stressed supernatural knowledge and the vision that is intellectual. " Grace comes down from above, not to move the heart but to enlighten the mind." So Greco's apostles " electrify us with their air of supernatural intelligence : their glance seems to have taken in the whole of celestial mathematics. . . . These faces are very different from those of the empty-headed and ecstatic monks of Zurbarán, as earthy in their origins as Sancho Panza." How un-Spanish he—El Greco—is ! In his representations of the holy figures Mr. Brenan senses a Gnostic tinge. Only his St. Francis is un-Byzantine—a man of suffering and of love rather than of vision and for that reason especially suited to appeal to popular devotion.

One cannot help recalling Mr. Somerset Maugham's reactions to El Greco. They clash, one imagines, with Mr. Brenan's. Mr. Somerset Maugham is not impressed by El Greco's spirituality or sincerity. His portraits, he thinks, are " empty of character ". When compared with " those of Zurbarán, so actual, so strongly individualized, they cease to exist." " Why does he sometimes give his saints the look of ducks dying of fright in a thunderstorm ? " There is no fervour of belief nor rapture of ecstasy. El Greco is interested only in decoration. He is indifferent to his subjects and his sitters. It is not surprising, since " these people look terribly stupid " !

There is no accounting for artistic criteria—as there is no accounting for tastes. Yet perhaps Mr. Brenan, though wise not to be cynical, does not allow enough for the Mannerist in El Greco. (So anxious is he to prove that the Spaniards have been inveterately un-intellectual !)

Few Spaniards, *we* may be sure, would be pleased when Mr. Brenan goes on to say that " few Spaniards, we may be sure, except the Platonist Luis de León, have ever regarded the enlargement of the intellect as the chief reward of the blessed on their entry into Paradise." And yet, passing over in silence the claims of this self-same, intellectual Luis de León, Mr. Brenan, elsewhere, hails as Spain's " greatest lyric poet " St. John of the Cross. Though surely he allows his single-minded devotion to carry him *too* far when he asserts that " religion in Spain, except during the brief period of the Carmelite mystics, has been an affair of ritual and observance, heavy with taboos and seeking neither intellectual nor imaginative expression " !

Mr. Brenan sees an obvious resemblance between El Greco and Dostoevsky. Here again Luis de León hasn't a look in. No comparison is suggested between Dostoevsky and him.

And of course he touches on the Baroque. He finds that it is typical of Spain and that it bears out his strictures on the nature of the Spanish genius. " The concentration of the architects and church decorators on creating in the mind of the worshipper a mood of awe and mystery,

in which he will lose his sense of his own personality and be unable to think critically or with detachment on any subject ; "—is his summing-up. He should not get away with it, however, when he glibly assumes that the Moorish and the Baroque style fused in Spain very successfully.

And so Mr. Brenan speeds from place to place, from generalization to generalization, and his book bubbles over with bright ideas—the bright ideas of a progressive mind. Though many of these must not be allowed to pass unchallenged, it cannot be denied that he is familiar with his subject and has made a conscientious and detailed study of Spain ;—Spain of the present and Spain of the past. He abounds in information about out-of-the-way places in Andalusia, Sierra Morena, Extremadura, La Mancha. His descriptions of scenes and customs are excellent,—*when* he has no particular " intellectual " axe to grind and is not too sanguine about solving riddles,—in particular the great, central insoluble one of Spain herself—the Spanish sphinx. He can convey " atmosphere ". He has, after all, steeped himself—sunned himself—in it.

Perhaps it is this very fact, that he is so well versed—so immersed—in things Spanish, that accounts for certain stylistic tricks :—the excitement, the *sensation*, of his more sweeping assertions ; the drama and boldness of some similes. Is there not something distinctively Spanish about :—" This blue of Granada skies is to other blues what the colour of fresh blood is to other reds and if one calls Spain, as well one may, the country of bloodshed, its pure sky blue, like that of the Virgin's dress in a Fra Angelico picture, seems to be pitying that bloodshed " ?

And about this descriptive bit :—" We rose at dawn. The houses were the colour of women's bodies, the air still. Through the bare network of the plane trees we could see far above us the snow banks of the Sierra Nevada, like a great double bed which no one had slept in " ?

Altogether, however, his style is direct, lively, clear and chaste. If only his report on the economic and political state of the country were not so sombre !

Near Lucena Mr. Brenan met a Spaniard who was exceptional.

" They tell me," said he, " that the English are a people who travel all over the world to laugh at other countries. That's fine. I thoroughly approve of it. I hope you are having a good laugh at us."

I told him I found very little to laugh at.

" Well, I do," he answered, " I do. I find things to laugh at all day long . . . ."

When Cervantes was alive there was poverty and misrule. Yet Spaniards could laugh then. If they could laugh now, Mr. Brenan would be able to laugh also—with them. And the appeal to him of Spain would not be that of " new sensations " only. England itself, too, on his return, might appear not quite so tame,—less, maybe, boring !

GEORGE A. KOLKHORST

NATIONAL INCOME, EXPENDITURE AND INVESTMENT

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

IN February last the Central Statistics Office published tables of national income and expenditure for 1938 and the years 1944–1950. Subject to some adjustments, these tables may be read with the earlier White Paper which covered the same subject for the years 1938 to 1944. In these two publications therefore we possess a wealth of information on the national economy in a period of exceptionally rapid change. Partly through set policy, more substantially through world events, the Irish economy has altered considerably in those thirteen years. The status as a creditor nation has been preserved ; but the credits are held in a currency that has depreciated in exchange value and that has been made inconvertible. At the same time, a dollar debt has been incurred. Internally there has been an appreciable shift of population from agriculture to other occupations, accompanied by a notable rise in public and private expenditure. This rise has occurred partly in connection with investment projects : it is also shown in expanded absorption of consumer goods. In these years, the balance of payments has passed through several vicissitudes. A period before the war in which there was a drawing down of the external assets was succeeded by a war-time phase in which they were replaced, in nominal if not in purchasing value, by the forced savings imposed by shortages of finished goods and raw materials. Since 1946, there has appeared on the credit side a new form of earning through tourist trade that was hardly known before the war, while the size of the visible adverse balance has greatly increased and at present stands at a level that would have seemed intolerable in 1938. Overall, it might be said that in these thirteen years the Irish economy has become monetized while the value of money has fallen. If this process continues, it seems certain that an increasing emphasis will be placed on the volume of production while the importance of our savings in the past will diminish. Tables of national income and expenditure may therefore be profitably examined along a number of lines of enquiry ; the size and distribution of the national income ; the size and purpose of national expenditure ; the volume of national savings ; the trend of agricultural and non-agricultural production ; and the effect of all these inter-related influences on the balance of payments and the capacity of the economy to maintain at once increased employment and a rising standard of living.

II

The total national income is estimated to have increased from £158.2 million in 1938 to £253.8 millions in 1944 and thence to £318.1 millions in 1947, £334.1 millions in 1948 and £352.1 millions in 1949. An estimate

of £363 millions in 1950 is put forward. It is clear that any straightforward comparison of totals over this period must be vitiated by the fall in the purchasing power of money : in this respect the tables contain an examination of the trend of retail prices. This shows an increase of 83 per cent between 1938 and 1949 but it is applicable principally to expenditure on current goods and services.

The distribution of national income between the various categories shows some important changes. In 1938 non-agricultural domestic wages, salaries and pensions accounted for £68.7 millions, being at once by far the largest single item of income and greatly exceeding agricultural income which was then returned as being £36.1 millions. In 1949, domestic non-agricultural wages salaries and pensions totalled £154.6 millions still forming the largest item. On the other hand agricultural income had risen to £99.4 millions. The greatest expansion appears to have occurred in the profits of private and public companies which were £11.9 millions in 1938 and £33 millions in 1949. There will be more to be said on this matter later ; but it is right to point out that the later figure contains elements of uncertainty and it would be unwise to build any argument upon it. Other profits, interest payments and professional earnings increased to a much smaller extent, from £20.4 millions in 1938 to £32.2 millions in 1949, again a conjectural figure. Income from buildings (otherwise receipts from rents) varied hardly at all. Decidedly, it was profitable to be a producer during this period ; but it is useful to note the proportionately heavier increase in the income accruing to agriculture. It should be remembered that this expanded income was shared by a decreasing number of people. The number of agriculturalists was 642,000 at the Census of 1936 and 583,000 ten years later. There is every reason to believe that there has been a further fall of about 50,000 persons since then. On the other hand the number of persons employed in insurable occupations has increased, on the basis of weekly averages, from 416,000 in 1938 to 490,000 in 1950. These changes heighten the contrast between the position of the agricultural community before and after the war.

If we take the net output of the various sectors of production to serve as a guiding check on the foregoing figures, we find that the expansion in the value of net agricultural output is of precisely the same order ; it was £38.2 millions in 1938 and £101.7 millions in 1949. Wages and salaries and profits in industry almost doubled in the post-war period, from £40.4 millions in 1944 to £78.6 millions in 1949 while earnings and profits from distribution and transport rose from £41.6 millions to £69.9 millions. Once again, we find that the total of estimated earnings in the professions, financial and insurance concerns and personal services

rose less steeply, from £43.5 millions to £54.6 millions. It is unfortunate that these headings are so wide that it is impossible to conjecture the social implications of these contrasts.

III

The tables that show net national expenditure in these years deserve particular attention. They show that personal expenditure on consumers goods and services at market prices rose from £146.2 millions in 1938 to £317.1 millions in 1949. Some of the items of this expenditure may be enumerated. Expenditure of personal income on food rose from £50.2 millions to £108.6 millions; on alcoholic beverages and tobacco from £20.6 millions to £40 millions; on clothing from £15.7 millions to £39.9 millions and on fuel and light from £12.9 millions to £21 millions. Reduced to a common level of value, it would appear that expenditure on food rose between 1938 and 1949 by about 12 per cent, and on drink and tobacco by nearly 16 per cent. This reflects an increased consumption of meat and dairy products in the domestic market and it is worth noting that these figures exclude tourist expenditure. It is clear that this tendency towards increased consumption has a dual effect on the balance of payments: in order to satisfy it, less is exported and more is imported. No doubt, the matter would be remedied by an increase in production which would leave more for home consumption and for export as well; but, as will be seen, we are far from that situation.

Foreign investment shows perhaps the widest range of fluctuation among all the items that go to make up net national expenditure. In 1938, there was an addition of £2 millions to investments abroad. In the years 1941–46 there were substantial further additions which ran as high as £32.6 millions in 1944, £34.6 millions in 1945 and £19.7 millions in 1946. Since that year the outgoings have been of the order of £29.9 millions in 1947, £19.8 millions in 1948 and £9.7 millions in 1949. It will be remembered that a further outgoing of about £30 millions in 1950 was suggested in the recent Budget speech.

It may be noted that the greatly increased post-war rate of realization is not necessarily connected with any tendency or policy of domestic investment. It is clear that the addition to foreign assets during the war years was due to the impossibility of obtaining normal supplies of capital and consumer goods. The heavy deficits of 1947 and 1948 were caused principally by re-stocking as these goods became available again. There was no very marked change in the type of import. The proportion of total imports formed by producers capital goods ready for use rose from

7 per cent in 1938 to 10.8 per cent in 1948; on the other hand the proportion formed by materials for agriculture and industry was 60 per cent in the earlier, and 58.8 per cent in the later, year. These proportions represent the aggregate decisions of companies and individuals. State policy is hardly reflected in these figures so far as they go. A deliberate policy of domestic investment was not put forward until the autumn of 1949 and the capital budget dates from the beginning of the financial year 1950–51.

One further point may be noted about these figures for foreign investment. They are taken from the annual statement of the balance of payments and they include the 'balance unaccounted for' which is deemed to be wholly current. It should be said that this assumption may well turn out to be unduly favourable.

Proceeding to a closer examination of savings and capital formation, we find a very marked failure of personal savings to expand in the same ratio as expenditure on consumer goods. They are represented as having exactly doubled, having grown from £8.5 millions in 1938 to £17 millions in 1949. Undistributed corporate profits rose from £2.5 millions to £8.3 millions; but in this case it has to be remembered that greatly increased replacement costs entail a greater volume of provision for new plant etc. Taken with savings by public authorities, these two items account for a total of £12 millions for total saving in 1938 and of £29.8 millions in 1949. Allowing for depreciation and foreign disinvestment, there was a gross total available for domestic investment of £14.2 millions in 1938, of £47.9 millions in 1948 and of £47.9 millions in 1949. It will be seen that the proportion of this gross total that is represented by savings, individual or corporate, has fallen very considerably in post-war as compared with pre-war years.

The corresponding total for gross domestic investment is composed of imported and home produced capital goods and of additions to stock. Imported producers capital goods include machinery, and motor vehicles (but not private motor-cars). Buildings of one type or another, either private houses, schools, hospitals etc., or factories and shops, would appear to account for the major part of home produced capital goods. Proportionately it would seem that the great expansion took place in imported producers capital goods which rose from £3.1 millions in 1938 to £15.7 millions in 1948 and £14 millions in 1949. Private buildings, hospitals and schools etc., rose from £4.9 millions to £15.8 millions in 1949 and other home produced capital from £6.2 millions to £17.1 millions. Increases in stocks were not estimated separately before the war. In so far as the import excess since 1946 is to be considered as a result of re-stocking, it may be noted that £11.9 millions is put to increases in stocks in 1946 and £28.6 millions in 1947. The later figures are much lower: £5.9 millions in 1948 and £1 million in 1949.

IV

The reflection of these figures in other aspects of the economy may now be considered. The trade returns may be taken to begin with. As the following table shows, they have disclosed very great fluctuations in the post-war years.

	1938	1947	1948	1949	1950
	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m
Imports	41.4	130.8	136.7	130.2	159.6
Exports	24.2	39.7	47.5	60.5	72.4
Adverse balance	17.2	91.1	89.2	69.7	87.2

The emergence of the adverse trade balance in its present proportions must be accounted as one of the major changes in our economic circumstances. At no time in recent decades have exports balanced imports; but it is worthwhile remembering that in 1928 merchandise exports were worth 75 per cent of the value of merchandise imports. In 1938 the percentage had fallen to 58.5 per cent but even that reduced ratio is greatly in advance of the record of subsequent years: 30.4 per cent in 1947; 34.8 per cent in 1948; 46.5 per cent in 1949 and 45.4 per cent in 1950. A prolonged continuation of this trend would lead to the most serious problems. In recent years the effect has been modified by exceptionally favourable, perhaps misleadingly favourable, balances on invisible account; but it would be foolish indeed to rely on a continuance of the order of magnitude that they have shown since 1947.

An analysis of the nature of imports in recent years shows the following percentage distribution.

	1938	1948	1949	1950
Consumption goods	31.3	28.0	27.0	25.6
Materials for industry and agriculture	60.0	58.8	59.8	63.2
Capital goods	7.0	10.8	10.4	9.6
Unclassified	1.7	2.4	2.8	1.6

These percentages show the manner in which the economy has changed in recent years. If we go back as far as 1929 we find that the proportion of consumption goods was then as high as 45.4 per cent while raw materials for agriculture and industry accounted for 46.6 per cent of imports. The table shows also the resumption and expansion of industrial production since the war. It reveals also the facility with which raw materials for agriculture were imported during the operation of the European Recovery Programme.

To a certain extent the great increase in imports during 1950 was due to increased prices. It is reckoned that of the increase of £17.6 millions in the import excess about £8.3 millions might be attributed to an increase in prices and £9.3 millions to an increase in volume. It is obvious that the terms of trade, which were in our favour during part of 1948 and 1949, have now turned seriously against us on account of devaluation and, more lately and more heavily, of the boom in raw materials since the outbreak of the Korean war. The test to be applied to the import list is ceasing to be whether the goods imported are necessities or not, or whether they are destined for future production or for consumption. The question is rather whether we can continue to import even necessities at the same rate as in the last few years. The following table, which includes both raw materials and consumption goods, shows at once how widely our imports are distributed and how greatly their volume has increased in a comparatively short space of time.

		1928	1938	1950
Wheat	cwts.	4,900	7,597	3,949
Maize	,,	7,690	7,107	6,970
Unmanufactured tobacco	lbs.	8,277	13,689	19,099
Motor spirit	galls.	25,172	41,016	75,096
Gas and fuel oil	,,	5,264	10,658	64,260
Petroleum lamp oil	,,	14,466	18,405	21,075
Deals, planks, boards	load	65	157	242
Woollen and worsted yarn	lbs.	1,620	3,992	2,662
Woollen tissues	,,	5,684	6,413	7,185
Cotton yarn	,,	733	7,206	6,429

Any selection from the import list is bound to be open to criticism; but this table goes to show a heavily increased demand which is due partly to increased economic activity and partly to increased demand for consumer goods. An increase in economic activity is as welcome as a rise in the standard of living; but both are heavily offset by the failure of agricultural production to expand, emphasized by an increase in the amount of it that is retained at home. In the same period in which our imports have increased so greatly, our exports have failed to expand to any remotely comparable degree. This appears from the following table showing the production and domestic consumption of certain agricultural goods during the same period.

ESTIMATED QUANTITIES AND MANNER OF DISPOSAL OF LIVESTOCK AND THE PRINCIPAL LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS IN 1929–30 AND 1949

		Total		Home Consumption		Exports	
		1929–30	1949	1929–30	1949	1929–30	1949
Cattle and calves	No.	928	735	122	219	806	516
Sheep and lambs	,,	1,085	604	504	506	581	98
Pigs	,,	1,450	826	482	799	968	27
Poultry	,,	12,400	11,247	9,050	6,472	3,350	4,775
Eggs	120's	11,709	8,497	6,959	5,117	4,750	3,380
Milk (used in industry)	000 galls.	197	209	72	191	125	18

It is plain that production is down and home consumption is up and the distribution of national income between the various categories may be read with that point in mind. Allowance should be made for the fact that 1949 came in the middle of an up-swing in agricultural production and that the numbers of livestock, except pigs, have considerably increased since then. There is now, also, a greater activity in the export of dead meat than there was twenty years ago. Nevertheless, the general tendency is clear.

V

The effect of all this on the balance of payments has been that a deficit of about £30 millions in 1950 has been suggested in the recent Budget speech. This follows on deficits of £10 millions in 1949, of £20 millions in 1948 and of £30 millions in 1947. Deficiencies of this magnitude may be borne in times of re-stocking or of stock-piling; but a continuation must impose a heavy strain on the external assets of the economy which will grow still heavier as their net total diminishes. It should be added that these figures represent the most favourable view that can be taken

of the matter ; since the balance unaccounted for in the balance of payments (£8.5 millions in 1949) is treated as being current. It is not at all clear that this is necessarily true ; it is possible that there are some movements, not yet isolated, of capital into the country.

The Minister for Finance stated, in regard to the deficit in the balance of payments, that the position was likely to be still worse in 1951. He added that if the position continued to develop unfavourably it might become necessary to apply corrective measures. The statistics of imports and of consumption would appear to show where such measures might be applied. It is difficult, however, to consider the problem without reference to the programme of capital investment. In the Budget speech a capital expenditure of £29.4 millions in 1951–52 was contemplated. The capital expenditure in 1950–51 by the State was £24.6 millions. In addition local authorities and other bodies incurred capital expenditure of over £8 millions : and a repetition of that outlay in the coming year is expected. In regard to the State programme it will be seen that housing is the principal object of expenditure : £11 millions in the last and £11.7 millions in the present financial year. Expenditure on electricity development was £4.75 millions and is estimated to run at £4.6 millions, while outlay on the telephone services is put at £2 millions and £1.8 millions respectively. Turf development cost £1.04 millions last year and is put at £1.10 millions for the present year. In 1950–51, £3.13 millions were spent on agricultural development : the sum set down for 1951–52 is £5.16 millions.

The figures for savings given in the tables of national income and expenditure are particularly relevant in this connection. It is clear that the volume of savings coming forward is not adequate to meet the demand. A point of importance is that, even in a period of economic expansion, subscriptions to marketable securities have been remarkably small in respect of issues other than those made by the State. Thus, in 1948, only £1,378,000 out of a total of about £16,400,000 was subscribed to issues made by industrial or commercial concerns while only £673,000 was so subscribed out of a total of £14,300,000 raised by public issue in 1949. The full figures for 1950 are not yet published but they are reasonably certain to show that the burden of domestic investment is being shouldered by the State. A sidelight on the situation is furnished by the part played by the commercial banks. Their investments within the state were £12,900,000 in the March quarter of 1949 and £20,219,000 in the December period of 1950. In the same period, loans and advances within the state rose from £90,967,000 to £101,330,000.

The situation therefore appears to be that the capital investment programme is being financed rather by the realization of past savings than by the provision of new savings. At the same time, the drawing on external assets is being intensified by the trade deficit. It will of course be clear that these two influences are connected. Capital investment calls for

heavier imports both of capital goods in the first place and of raw materials to employ them later. At the same time the increased employment and expanded purchasing power which the investment programme creates will call for heavier imports of consumption goods. In such circumstances, imports might well be expected to rise. Moreover, the programme has had the great misfortune to run into a period of sharply rising prices and the effect on the balance of payments has been all the more marked. What is particularly disturbing is the proportion of imports that will not give rise to subsequent exports. It has to be accepted that a considerable part of the investment programme cannot be expected to be self-liquidating. The housing programme, to take the most obvious example, represents a social ideal that possesses a higher priority as a goal of national policy than the maintenance of external assets. But, like anything else it has to be paid for.

VI

The test of investment policy must depend on wider considerations than the deficit in the balance of payments. It is only to be expected that the market programme would lead to an increased deficit and the rapid growth in the extent of that decrease is not in itself a sign that the programme is wrongly framed. What is serious is that by its own momentum the programme has led to an expansion of imports that cater for consumption alone. Capital investment perhaps has been too often presented as an instrument of policy that will lead to increased employment and better standards of living. So it will, one must hope, in the long run. In the short run, it calls for austerity and sacrifice. Here again, the tables in the statement of national income may be recalled. It will be remembered that between 1938 and 1949, personal expenditure on food rose by 12 per cent. On the other hand, expenditure on alcohol and tobacco rose by 15 per cent and on other goods by about 32 per cent. This is surely the sector in the economy where greater austerity can be induced, to the considerable advantage of the balance of payments if not also to the volume of savings, by the deterrent of increased indirect taxation. No increase in taxation is to be lightly advocated ; but if the present trends persist it may be necessary to adopt such a measure lest worse befall. The Budget speech also referred to a decision, surely over-delayed, to stimulate savings. It is not clear if the stimulation is to be purely hortatory. On every ground, it would seem desirable to give the investor in State issues a greater incentive to thrift than he has received in recent years. The present situation is more alarming for what it might become rather than in itself ; and the term 'inflation' may be too easily applied. Neither taxation nor borrowing will create an inflationary situation of itself. What is needed is a policy of borrowing that will help production and a policy of taxation that will discourage consumption.

JAMES MEENAN

IMPRESSIONS OF ROME AND ITALY

1950-1951

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

I HAVE recently returned from Italy, where I passed several months of winter and spring, lecturing in Rome at the Gregorian University. I was able therefore to revisit Rome and many of its monuments and museums and to see something too of Italy, though mainly in a Roman s etting.

To me Rome always appears in many ways un-Italian. It never r eflected seriously or for long that lay and liberal and anti-clerical spirit of United Italy from the 1870-ties until the first World War. One had the feeling that the King of Italy in the Quirinal was an intruder and the feeling also that this is what most of the Romans themselves felt. *Roma o Morte*—was the motto of the Garibaldians, and the words are carved in prominent lettering on the massive memorial to Garibaldi on the Janiculum. But Garibaldi has left few echoes in the Eternal City, and the Italy of to-day is very different indeed from the Italy of Garibaldi's dreams. Rome is older than Italy, and a great deal older than United Italy. It is stirred by memories of the majestic and monumental achievements of the old *Imperium Romanum*, that spread its dominion over the known world, ' from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof '. *Exegi monumentum*, wrote the poet Horace, of himself and his poetic work : *non omnis moriar*. " I have raised a monument to myself . . . and I shall not wholly die ". The words might serve very aptly as the epitaph of ancient Rome. And Rome is stirred also by the consciousness of its Christian heritage and antiquity, second to none and outsoaring all. For Rome is the city of Peter, the city of the Popes, the central hearth and shrine of the Catholic Church.

This contrast is brought home vividly by the huge Vittore Emanuele monument to the South of the Piazza Venezia, designed to commemorate the *Risorgimento* and the unification of Italy under the House of Savoy. Most Catholic visitors to Rome dislike, even loathe it, for what they deem its pretentiousness and ornate vulgarity. Yet, considered as a monument from the architectural and sculptural standpoints, it is quite worthy and indeed not without genuine dignity. What is wrong is its situation. It ought to be somewhere else. Seen in a North Italian town it would be admirable. But in Rome, with the Forum and the Colosseum behind it and its face directed towards the Piazza Venezia, it is out of proportion and out of place. It harmonizes neither with the ancient stone and marble or the dulled brickwork of the Imperial remains nor with the brown and orange and terracotta colouring of the Rome of Papal times. It seems

almost as alien to the true Roman atmosphere as the statue of the heretic, Giordano Bruno, flanked with medallions of other rebels against Church authority, that was set up under Masonic influence in the *Campo dei Fiori*.

I

I went to Rome in October of 1950, so that my prevailing impressions of Rome come from the Holy Year.

There is no doubt that, from the point of view of numbers, the Holy Year was a most conspicuous success. It is not easy to give figures, but Italian papers spoke of more than three million pilgrims officially registered. This figure did not include the large number of visitors who travelled privately or who passed through Rome as part of a longer tour. The final total may well have been nearer or even above four million. Certainly, it far exceeded that of any previous year of Jubilee. No doubt, travel facilities have greatly improved, especially with the development of long distance coaches, but at the same time it has to be remembered that Catholics from Eastern European countries behind the Communist curtain were quite unable to make the pilgrimage. And if, to adapt an historic sentence, the New World was called in to redress the balance of the Old—large contingents did come from both North and South America—the faithful Poles and Czechs, Hungarians and Croats were—alas—all too conspicuous by their absence. It was continuous evidence of the regime of repression and religious persecution under which they are compelled to exist.

The visitor who remained in Rome for some time could not fail to be impressed by the earnest and pious attitude of the pilgrims. These had come, not on holiday, not in the first resort to see the sights. They were conscious of a spiritual purpose. This was evident when they were seen in groups in the basilicas, often in actual procession and preceded by their crossbearers, singing hymns and praying in the language of their hearth and home. Most affecting of all, I think, were the parties from Italian communes and villages. It seemed as though the entire village had come together—the old folk and the children, the men walking with a heavy peasant gait, more familiar with the feel of ploughed earth or grass than with city pavements, the women with shawls and kerchiefs, the young girls in bright local costume. It is a great mistake to think of Roman pilgrims, as we maybe are tempted to do in these our islands, as people who could afford the journey, though one knows how long and with what a spirit of sacrifice many of our own pilgrims have saved and scraped to make it. One was conscious everywhere of the simple folk, coming like the shepherds to the manger at Bethlehem—*contadini* from the fields, *montanari* from the hill districts, visiting their central city and their common Father. Nor were these most touching groups confined to Italy. They came from Spain, with their vivid national colours and their striking

national hymns, from the Tyrol and Southern Germany, from Southern France. The *Catholic* note was struck so resonantly, not only because the pilgrims assembled from so many countries and you heard the echo of so many different languages, but because they included every type and kind and class of Catholic.

The Holy Year reached its culminating point in the definition of the dogma of the Assumption. It was a most memorable experience. The morning was fine—in a winter notoriously wet and stormy. Half a million people were gathered in and close to the piazza of St. Peter's, which was made the temple for this solemn pronouncement. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was defined by Pius IX in 1854 in St. Peter's, and two hundred or so bishops were present, with presumably sixty thousand visitors. The Assumption was declared a solemn dogma of the Faith in the presence of eight hundred prelates and half a million of the faithful that seemed to move like a river down the broad Via della Conciliazione which links the Vatican with the Ponte Sant'Angelo and the city of Rome or to break its banks like a lake and overflow through the pillars of Bernini's colonnade that embraces the piazza to either side.

Then, the procession of priests, bishops and cardinals from the Bronze Door as far as the obelisk in the centre of the piazza, and then towards the façade of St. Peter's, the procession winding its way through the crowd, the tips of episcopal mitres bobbing and tossing as though on the flow and ebb of a tide; the flash and gleam from the morions of the Swiss Guard; the rich contrast of red and purple, gold and white. As it moved forward, the Litanies of the saints were being chanted with their leisurely rhythm. *Omnes Sancti Patriarchae et Prophetae . . . orate pro nobis. Ab omni malo . . . libera nos, Domine. Te rogamus, audi nos.* The litanies were being chanted, as chanted they ought to be, to the sound of marching feet.

When the Holy Father had reached the platform in front of St. Peter's, where the Papal throne had been erected, Cardinal Tisserant, then Sub-Dean, now Dean, of the sacred College of cardinals, petitioned the Pope in the name of the college and of the entire Church, that he would solemnly define the doctrine of the Assumption. The Pope answered that this splendid hour had arrived through the Providence of God (*Non sine Aeterni Numinis consilio sollemnis haec hora advenit*). But, before proceeding to the definition, he called on the vast concourse to join with him in prayer to the Holy Spirit. Thereupon he intoned the *Veni, Creator Spiritus.* The hymn, taken up by the attentive and reverent assembly, resounded over the piazza and the Vatican and across the Tiber into Rome itself.

Seated on the throne and speaking as Christ's Vicar *ex cathedra,* the Holy Father pronounced only one or two of the concluding paragraphs of the Bull, *Munificentissimus Deus,* those in effect which actually *defined* the doctrine. His words, with the aid of an excellent amplifying system, were perfectly audible in every part of the piazza. The crowd, silent

and rapt in the solemnity and significance of the moment, caught each single word and each nuance of the voice. And so—the definition came to its climax—after constant prayer to God, and after a special appeal for light to the Holy Spirit of God, and for the honour of Almighty God and of Christ our Lord and His august Mother,

> by the authority of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by Our own authority (*auctoritate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra*) we pronounce, declare and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that Mary, the Immaculate Mother of God and ever a Virgin, when the course of her earthly life has run, was in both body and soul assumed to heavenly glory (*pronuntiamus, declaramus et definimus divinitus revelatum dogma esse: Immaculatam Deiparam semper Virginem Mariam, expleto terrestris vitae cursu, fuisse corpore et anima ad caelestem gloriam assumptam*).

Then followed the traditional request of the Sub-Dean of the sacred college that the Pope give his approval to the publication of the Bull of definition, and assent was given in the traditional form, *Decernimus*. The Holy Father next intoned the *Te Deum* of thanksgiving, and again the chant of half a million voices soared majestically from the piazza to echo along the Tiber banks far into the city's heart. Finally, before Pontiff and procession passed into St. Peter's for the solemn Mass of the Assumption, the Pope gave a short address in Italian on the significance of the definition. He spoke of it as the response to the prayers and aspirations of many centuries as well as of those faithful gathered on that morning in front of the basilica to do honour to Our Lady's memory and to show their devotion to her and their love. And all this had happened, he continued, " in this vast piazza of so many hallowed memories, sacred for so long with the glories of the Church, the spiritual harbourage of all the peoples, and on this auspicious day made altar and temple for your overbrimming piety and love " (*nella vastità di questo venerando luogo, già sacro alle glorie cristiane, approdo spirituale di tutte le genti, ed ora fatto altare e tempio per la vostra traboccante pietà*).

It would be impossible to omit from impressions of Rome during the Holy Year mention of the personal activity and work of the Holy Father. For around him that year of special prayer and pilgrimage appropriately centred, and to it he reacted in a remarkable way. His vitality and energy surprised both the Romans and visitors. Tirelessly, despite his years and his many and onerous responsibilities, he put himself at the disposition of the pilgrims. The number of private and special audiences naturally increased in 1950 and, apart from the reception of particular groups that were able to claim an audience for themselves, he held twice a week a general audience in St. Peter's. Here, he welcomed visitors from many countries at one and the same time, addressing them in five or six languages,

and tempering his message to the country and condition of the varying pilgrim parties. And, after these receptions, while crowds lingered still in the piazza outside the basilica, he would appear again and again, framed in a lighted window, high up in the Vatican, as though loath to let these pilgrims depart and only too ready to give himself to them as generously as possible. Earlier in the year there had been serious fears for His Holiness's health. Some advisers doubted whether he could stand the strain of it without collapse or at least genuine risk. In point of fact, the Pope appears to have benefited positively by all his efforts and to be fitter and stronger now, not in spite of but because of these very efforts. Add to the strain of these receptions the many addresses he has given to special gatherings such as groups of Parliamentarians, philosophers, religious, scouts and sportsmen, and one is able to assess the immense vitality as also the real paternal solicitude of the Supreme Pontiff.

The peculiar attraction of Rome does not come, however, from a Holy Year or anything so incidental; such things serve only to emphasize and enhance that attractiveness. Impressions are bound to be personal and subjective, but for me two elements predominate in this general Roman impression or impressiveness.

The first is the *contrast*, which is at the same time the *continuity*, between ancient and Christian Rome. It is interesting to note the changed attitude on the Christians' part during the third and later centuries. In the first century, classical Rome stood for everything the Christians felt themselves opposed to, the pride and circumstance of worldly living, ambition and power and dominance. Rome was for them the second Babylon, more evil and notorious than its prototype, a city rotted with viciousness and luxury, surfeited with riches, crazy with material achievement. Yet subsequently, while they still recognized the incompatibility of the Christian with the pagan outlook, Christians came to detect the hand of Divine Providence in the development of the Roman Empire and the spread of classical culture. In their eyes, this had been a preparation among the gentiles for the advent of the Son of God. It was a *praeparatio evangelica gentium*. And so Plato would be referred to as a "Moses speaking Attic Greek", and Virgil introduced into the company of prophets of Christ's birth. Virgil is introduced into more than one of the medieval sequences at Christmastide, along with the Hebrew prophets, and is called upon to bear witness unto the Saviour. *Maro, vates gentilium, da Christo testimonium*, and Virgil, thus summoned, proceeded to declare the coming of Our Lord, in the lines of his own Fourth Eclogue, which was given a Messianic interpretation. Together with Virgil, the pagan priestesses or Sibyls, whose shrines were spread throughout the Empire in the first A.D. centuries, were accorded a similar prophetic status. *Teste David cum Sibylla*, is a familiar line from the *Dies Irae*. And Renaissance artists loved to link these two—Hebrew prophets and classical

Sibyls out of pagandom, and thus to represent the double line of gospel preparation. So, for instance, in the lovely frescoes of Raphael in the church of *Santa Maria della Pace* and the magnificent effigies of prophets and priestesses, the work of Michelangelo, on the walls and roof of the Sistine chapel.

Contrast and *continuity*—the two notions are there side by side, seeming every now and then to intermingle. Here, on the site of the temple of *Juno Moneta*, on the ancient *arx* or citadel of Republican Rome, is now the church of Our Lady in *Ara Coeli*. There, the old frescoes in what was the church of *Santa Maria Antica*, housed in the remains of Augustus's palace. Or the church of *San Clemente* built over a pagan Mithraeum.

The second element of which I am vividly conscious is this time a Christian continuity, a continuity which takes one back to the beginnings of Christian history. It is not difficult to detect traces and memories of the earliest Christians: the association of the houses (now the churches) of Prisca and Clement with St. Peter; the Mamertine prison at the foot of the *Tabularium* and the Capitol; the Colosseum, associated with the early martyrs, at the end of the series of Imperial *Fora;* the tomb of Peter on the Vatican and of Paul along the road to Ostia; the catacombs to the side of the main roads that radiate outwards from the city into the *Campagna*.

These earliest memories are caught up in the most ancient of Rome's churches, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards. These have been, in the main, transformed and reconstructed but several of them retain their original ground plan and style of arrangement and decoration. Churches like those of *Santa Maria in Cosmedin* and *Santa Maria in Trastevere* recall many of the features of those first Roman churches.

From the Middle Ages, in the narrowest sense of that expression, there is little. If there is one historical lacuna in Roman development, here it is, for the period in question was for the city of Rome one of wars and struggles, of difficulty and decline. To see Italian masterpieces of that period, better go to Florence, as also for the great achievements of the early Italian Renaissance. But, this period over, there dawned the magnificence of the full Renaissance in the Rome of Raphael and Michelangelo, of Bramante and Bernini, and of a hundred other architects, sculptors and painters who enriched the eternal city with churches of amazing originality and intense vitality. Such, for example, St. Peter's itself or the church of *Sant' Ignazio*, built to commemorate the canonization in 1622 of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier and containing tombs and altars of Saints Robert Bellarmine, Aloysius Gonzaga and John Berchmans, or the *Chiesa Nuova*, where St. Philip Neri lies buried.

Contrast and *continuity*—even here in Rome's Christian and Catholic development, these two notes are prominent, and they are, in part at least, root and reason of Roman fascination.

II

I pass now from this short appreciation of Rome, that brings with it inevitably reflections upon the background of Rome's history and culture, to an equally short review of the present situation of Italy.

I make this review from the standpoint of Rome and in a Roman setting but, after all, Rome *is* the capital of modern Italy. That is one of its many aspects.

A first impression of post-war Italy is that the Italians have recovered with remarkable speed from the ruins and ravages of that war which swept over the Italian peninsula from one end to another. They have rebuilt damaged cities and replaced the ruins; they have rebridged the rivers, restored and developed both railway and road services. The secret of this recovery is their willingness to work hard and a certain pride in workmanship, with a sense of the urgent need for reconstruction. This first impression does not obscure the fact that a great deal more has to be done before Italy can be said to have recovered fully. In certain areas the housing conditions are exceedingly bad. Families are living, for instance, in caves or even holes in the walls of the Capitol and Baths of Caracalla. It is probably true of Italy as it is true of Western Germany that a building priority has been given to factories and business premises with the object of restoring the national economy as speedily as possible and securing a maximum amount of employment. This, I think, has been a settled policy, but it brings with it a very serious housing problem.

Italian cities have an air of plenty, if not altogether of prosperity. Shops are full; everything is available. Prices are, in some cases, very high, judged by English standards. But in fairness one must remember the large food subsidies paid in Britain. Meat is costly, in particular beef and veal, as are also butter and cheese. Fruit and vegetables are reasonably cheap. The cost of living has advanced more rapidly than the rise in the Italian exchange rate. Prior to 1939, there were a trifle more than 100 lire to the pound sterling; now, the figure is 1,700. It is therefore from sixteen to seventeen times what it was before the war. But the purchase index has increased some twenty-five to thirty fold so that, in comparable figures, the cost of living is fifty per cent higher now than then.

Labour speakers in Britain are fond of rebutting the accusation that goods are more plentiful in countries of private enterprise than in those under State direction by the countercharge that only the wealthy and the bourgeois can buy these goods under private enterprise because they alone have sufficient money. Such an answer would be manifestly incorrect in Italy. I am not denying the existence there of considerable poverty. Indeed a section of the populace lives under conditions of great privation. But this problem does not rise from private enterprise but from certain fundamental realities, of which I shall shortly have a word to say. A large majority is, however, able to live reasonably well, according to Italian

standards. One proof of this, as far as concerns Rome, may be found in the shops and stalls in the older quarters of the city between the two *Corsos* and the Tiber. There, in the narrow winding streets you will discover shop after shop—all filled, almost to overflowing, with perishable goods (fruit, vegetables, butter, eggs, meat and fish)—and clusters of open stalls, with their boards resting on trestles and a large umbrella overhead: they too are piled high with perishable produce, which, if not sold to-day or to-morrow, will melt and rot and have to be thrown away. It stands to reason that all this or the greater part of it is regularly bought and sold. And the people who do their shopping in these narrow streets are not the aristocracy with their cars or the bourgeois with elaborate shopping baskets, but the *plebs Romana*, the honest, ordinary, working folk of Rome.

I have mentioned certain fundamental realities in the Italian situation which demand serious attention. Italy is relatively a poor country, in spite of the agricultural wealth of its Northern provinces and its developed industry. The South is particularly poor. At the same time, the Italian population is increasing and in consequence there are to-day roughly two million unemployed. This is by no means a new problem. Prior to the first World War an average of half a million Italians emigrated every year, in the main to the United States and Latin America. After 1919, the United States were gradually closed to immigration, and fewer Italians could leave home. Under the Fascist government between the two wars great efforts were made to develop Libya and to pave the way there for extensive Italian colonization. These colonies have now passed from Italian hands. They were never, of course, a full solution of this urgent problem but they did provide a partial outlet. In my opinion, it has been both a pity and a great mistake to have excluded Italians from colonization in Northern Africa. They are a hard-working, frugal and thrifty people; indeed, they are excellent colonists, maybe the only European people that can make a success of actual colonization in Mediterranean Africa. Africa is calling out for development, which is equivalent to saying that Mediterranean Africa is calling out for Italian colonists. It was short-sighted, on the part of the Western Powers and the United Nations' to reject Italian co-operation in North Africa, an area of increasing importance because of its strategical position. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] the Italians are inclined to lay the major blame for this decision upon the British, and this is one of the reasons for a prevalent anti-British sentiment among the Italians. They expected little comprehension from the Americans because of their bias against colonization, and nothing at all from Soviet Russia. Britain, they felt, would at least understand Italy's colonial aspirations. Yet, it was the British attitude that most of all hardened to their disadvantage. The point remains that the Italian problem of over-popula-

[1] c.f. *The Sword*, March, 1951.

tion has to be dealt with. The Italian government cannot do this, for it lacks the means. It can be solved in the last resort only by international agreement or at the headquarters of U.N.O. And solved it must be, through planned emigration and settlement, and not—needless to say—by any of the spurious and immoral remedies suggested to the people of Italy by outsiders who lack the honesty and courage to face this problem.

When one passes from the social to the political aspect, once again the first impression is of remarkable recovery. Conditions in Italy in 1945 and 1946 might well have become chaotic. The country was occupied and politically disorganized. Much of it was more or less under the control of the Resistance movements. There was destruction on all sides ; everywhere shortages. The Communist threat seemed very real. The Communists themselves were convinced, as they were in France, that they were so strong that no government could continue without their assistance ; and this assistance they would provide only on their own terms.

The political achievements of the government of Signor De Gasperi have been of a high order. De Gasperi himself is a man of outstanding character, a zealous Catholic, and of great political skill. Though his party, the Christian Democrats, secured an absolute majority in the 1948 elections over all other parties, he has co-operated loyally and generously with Liberals and with the Saragat Socialists and allotted them posts in the administration up to the resignation of three Socialist ministers at the beginning of April, 1951. He has tried to create as broad a base as possible for his government and he has succeeded in establishing a solid and sound system of democratic government in Italy.

The 1948 elections were overshadowed by the threat of Communism and their results were an effective reply to the Communist challenge. The Communists with the Nenni group of Socialists, who for practical purposes are Communist fellow-travellers and allies, secured eight million votes ; the *democristiani* alone, twelve million. In between were some two million voters in favour of smaller parties and groups, among them the Liberals and the Saragat and Romita groups of Socialists.

The Christian Democrats are a large party, of a type that has risen to prominence upon the Continent since the war, and a type too which puzzles the politician, whether Conservative or Labour, in Britain. They are a Christian party ; that is, they recognize the need and value of Christian principles, as these are formulated by the Catholic Church, and their policies and programmes are influenced by and take real account of that teaching. They are in one sense, but not the ordinary political sense, conservative, in that they are conscious of the Italian and European heritage of thought and culture and of the proper rights and liberties of the individual, family and voluntary groups ; they are at the same time progressive, aware of social problems and anxious to apply methods of social justice and reform.

Naturally, in so large a party diverse elements can be discovered. Some of these are traditional and conservative ; others, no doubt, monarchist ; others, verging towards Liberalism—various groups that have made common cause with the genuine *democristiani* to combat Communism. Even among the true *democristiani* there are two definite wings : a Right wing, favouring a maximum measure of private enterprise with the restriction of State intervention in the country's life, and a Left wing, but definitely under strong Catholic leadership, which is insisting on a fuller programme of social reconstruction. The party has, therefore, a large core of genuine Christian Democrats, and it is likely to remain the most numerous and powerful political party in Italy. But, if and as the threat of Communism recedes, it is probable that smaller groups will detach themselves from it and enter the political lists under their own titles.

The once important Socialist Party of Italy has fallen upon troubled times. From 1948 until recently, it was split into three sections. The first was that of Signor Nenni, which, as has been above noted, is frankly in sympathy with the Communists. The second and third were those of Signori Saragat and Romita. The Saragat fraction broke away from the Nenni group precisely because of Nenni's association with Communism. It was a moderate Socialist group, and it collaborated with the government until some weeks ago. Then, its three ministers resigned, not on account of differences with the government, but as the price paid for the reunion of the Saragat and Romita forces. The Romita fraction had also broken off from the Nenni Socialists, but this section was to the " Left " of the followers of Saragat. After much discussion and considerable delay, the two sections joined their ranks in April, 1951, to form what they hope will be a stronger Socialist but non-Communist party. What kind of basis these hopes actually have, time will show. I am myself sceptical, partly because, outside of Western Germany, Socialist parties on the Continent have lost ground steadily since 1945 and have shown themselves woefully weak vis-à-vis the Communists. Besides, there is evidence of dissension among the two Socialist sections. The " Right " wing members of Saragat's group voted against the merger, and Signor Silone, vice-president of the Romita fraction and an ex-Communist, is still rated as an extremist of the " Left ". A compromise was only reached on two conditions : the first, that the Romita section approved Italian support for the Atlantic Pact, and the second, that the three Saragat ministers should retire from the De Gasperi government.

What, it might finally be asked, is the real strength of Communism and the Communists in Italy ? To this necessary question it is not easy to give a secure reply.[1] One has to remember that many Italians have voted

[1] I have dealt with this question in greater detail in an article on " Christian Democrats and Communists in Italy " in *The Christian Democrat* for June, 1951.

for, and again might vote for, the Communist party from motives which have little or nothing to do with Communism. There is the motive of class solidarity which in Italy as in France brings that party a large number of working men's votes. The men vote as do their mates. It is a class rather than an individual assent. There is the feeling that, by voting Communist, they are registering the strongest protest possible against existing difficulties such as unemployment and the high cost of living, just as during the Resistance period from 1943 to 1945 membership of the Communist party was regarded negatively as the firmest possible expression of opposition to Fascism. A Communist vote is frequently a vote *contro il padrone*, against the boss, and has no other significance. That this is no wishful interpretation on my part is clear, I think, from the fact that many practising Catholics in Italy were at the same time active members of the Communist party, in part deluded by the specious propaganda argument that Italian Communism was not hostile to religion, and partly because their reasons for membership of or support for that party had little or nothing to do with ideological Communism.

A further reason for the strength of the Communists was the part they played after the initial collapse of Fascism in the Resistance movement. This movement, in which they exercised a pronounced influence and where they frequently assumed direct control, had a double purpose. It was at once a patriotic *risorgimento* against both the Germans and the Fascists and also, in their minds, a preparation for Communist rule in post Italy. The partisans remained closely linked with their wartime Communist comrades, and indeed the Communist Party in Italy organized its militant forces on the lines of and with the assistance of these partisans. A large number of the *partigiani* were, however, just ordinary Italian patriots, unconcerned with doctrine or ideology, and their Communist associations were based, not on any acceptance of Communist ideas but from fellow feeling with their previous war companions.

Early this year there occurred a split in the Communist ranks, which may well have wide reaching consequences. Two Communist members of Parliament, Signori Cucchi and Magnani, resigned from the party on definitely national grounds. They insisted that it was the duty of every Italian to defend his country against any and every foreign aggressor, including Soviet Russia. The official Communist opinion was either that they would not defend Italy against Russia or that the question was merely theoretical, since Soviet Russia, the land of proletarian peace, harboured no offensive designs. The resignation of these deputies was followed by similar resignations in local Communist branches and by the discovery on the part of the police of hidden caches of arms and ammunition : it is not difficult to guess that the police were told about these stores of weapons by former *partigiani*, now dissociating themselves from the Com-

munists. In other words, a split has happened, which shows every sign of widening, and the split has happened on grounds of national feeling.

I would suggest that, short of actual Russian invasion of Italy, the Communist party is in decline. It is still a formidable source of anxiety, but it has caused little disturbance since the De Gasperi government came into power in 1948. Powerful though its influence is within the Trades Unions, it has been unsuccessful in staging strikes, in part because the Italian is anxious to get on with his work and is not an easy dupe of political manoeuvring. The efforts made in Rome by the Communists to organize demonstrations and one-day strikes during the Roman visit of General Eisenhower were a lamentable failure ; the workers ignored the appeal to strike and refused to demonstrate.

Italy is, by reason of its splendid tradition of civilization and culture, a country of the West. Nothing could be more alien from its spirit than a government or system on the Communist model. The Italian is too definitely an individualist to have any sympathy with State regimentation. He is too profoundly steeped in the Catholic faith and way of life and thought to be patient of crass materialism. Despite the existence of this formidable Communist party, the danger does not come from within. It comes—or might do so—from without. And here Italian policy is collaboration with the Western Powers, even though at times the Italians feel that they have been misunderstood and unhappily treated by those Powers. They are committed to rearmament, once the clauses of the peace treaty have been revised, and they are ready to make the sacrifices that such a policy will involve, even though they have a deep wish for peace. The Communist peace campaign had some success among the Italians, who have, most of them, seen war brought home to their villages and cities.

A last word needs here to be added, and it concerns the Vatican. The Vatican is technically not Italy but it lends a strength and stability to Italy, that, were it not for the Vatican, Italy would scarcely possess. The Catholic Church is not Italian. But none the less, Italy and still more, Rome, are associated with the Church in a manner that is true of no other country and no other city. And this gives Catholics a special interest in what is actually happening in Italy, and a special sympathy for the efforts made in Italy to secure a greater measure both of order and prosperity.

JOHN MURRAY

NEWMAN AND HIS UNIVERSITY

BY PROFESSOR DENIS GWYNN, D.LITT.
University College, Cork

FATHER Fergal McGrath undertook an immense labour of research in presenting this full account[1] of Newman's Catholic University in Dublin. He has a gift for selection and a lightness of touch, which are as remarkable as his industry in mastering the enormous amount of material which is available. Some of his reviewers have complained that the book is needlessly long and full of detail; but no student of Newman's life or of the history of Irish education will share that view. There is certainly scope for a short popular account of the Catholic University, to tell the story and explain its background for the general public. But if such an account is written, its author will have good reason to thank Father McGrath for having assembled so much in so compact and readable a narrative, and for throwing new light on a confused and complicated story.

It would have been easy to arrange the present book in two volumes, each with a distinct subject; but the cost to readers would have been higher, and it is a real achievement to have compressed so much as Father McGrath has done, within some 500 pages. There are a great number of explanatory footnotes which indicate supplementary sources, or provide details about persons or subjects mentioned in letters or documents. The first hundred pages are concerned with a close survey of the extremely complicated conditions which existed when Newman was invited to found the University in Dublin. These conditions caused the demand for a Catholic University but they also hampered its chances of success. Without a clear picture of that background, it is impossible either to understand the enormous difficulties which surrounded Newman's experiment, or to appreciate the courage and serenity with which he gave his whole mind to planning and developing it, under restrictions which would have driven most men to despair. Father McGrath presents the background with admirable clearness. He tells the whole story of Newman's efforts and their eventual frustration, and within the same volume gives a full account of Newman's ideas and aims as a practical administrator.

Newman's powers of concentration and his magnanimity are immensely impressive in many phases of the story. Father McGrath rightly emphasises the strain which he was undergoing with the Achilli trial, at the time when he had to prepare and deliver his famous first lectures in Dublin.

[1] Newman's University, Idea and Reality. By Fergal McGrath, S.J. Browne and Nolan. 30s. net.

The writ for criminal libel was served on Newman in November 1851, but the trial did not begin until June 1852. Newman had been assured by legal advisers, before he made his celebrated attack on Achilli in his lecture at Birmingham, that there was no likelihood of a prosecution; and Cardinal Wiseman had promised him full documentary evidence to support his charges if an action should be taken. But Wiseman had lost his papers and could not produce any evidence, and for months there was a feverish scurry to obtain witnesses on the Continent, with a deepening conviction that Newman would be unable to prove his case. Yet during those months he was preparing the lectures which were to expound the principles and the aims of the new University. As Father McGrath puts it, "he had on his mind during the whole time of composition the extraordinary anxiety of the impending ordeal in court, to say nothing of the fatigue caused by endless journeys to London to consult with his counsel, and the embarrassing complications which attended the bringing from the Continent of the witnesses to Achilli's guilt."

Later on, there were to be periods of delay and conflict in Ireland which would have exasperated any ordinary mortal to the point of resignation, time after time. Archbishop MacHale became openly hostile, but that hostility was a constant and predictable factor. Archbishop Cullen's habits of procrastination, and his persistent refusal to commit himself to writing, were much more exasperating. The whole concept of the University changed before long; and whereas Newman had understood at the outset that it was intended to be another Louvain, for all Catholics of English-speaking countries, it became clear that the Irish bishops did not desire anything of that sort, and that the English Catholics would contribute practically nothing. After he had made most careful enquiries as to his powers in appointing or even selecting professors and tutors, he found that all his decisions were subject to revision, which often meant reversal. He had taken great pains to find suitable English Catholics to fill positions for which he could see no adequately trained candidate in Ireland, and then found himself suspected of favouring English appointments. When he produced a group of highly qualified young men who had been connected with Young Ireland, Cullen would not have them because of their political sympathies. Cullen not only would not answer his urgent letters, but would not even arrange an interview for months at a time; and then would raise petulant objections which Newman had already taken great pains to anticipate or to remove.

Yet Newman preserved an astonishing serenity and patience until conditions became incurable, and his time limit was nearly reached. The one note of petulance, which recurs surprisingly again and again, was with regard to his personal comfort and his dread of undercooked food. When one recalls the intense austerity of his years at Littlemore, and the

simplicity of his life at all times, it is most curious to read how often he would complain in letters to his English friends about the " bleeding mutton " which he could not refuse to eat. Those complaints about food or about discomfort are a constant source of surprise to students of Newman's life. No man had trained himself more thoroughly to fasting and mortification. During his years at Littlemore his doctors had impressed on him that he would have a complete breakdown if he did not take proper nourishment. And when the Passionist Father Dominic Barberi reported to his superiors that he had visited Littlemore in September 1845, and received Newman's submission there, he wrote that he " had never seen a monastery so poor ". The small cells were divided only by rough brick walls ; and the " furniture consisted only of a little straw bed and one or two chairs of the poorest kind ". Yet within a few months afterwards, Newman was complaining, in another well-known letter, about the draughts howling round his ankles. At Oriel he had always been invited to choose the wines for the college because his friends knew that he had so fine a palate ; yet he scarcely ever drank wine himself. But he retained his old regard for decent comfort in the Oxford style, even while he lived most austerely ; and Father McGrath gives glimpses of him among his students in Dublin, where Aubrey de Vere was dismayed to find that he insisted on carving himself for " thirty hungry youths ".

The invitation to Dublin came only six years after he emerged from his long penitential period at Littlemore, and his life had broadened incredibly since he became a Catholic. At Littlemore he had been cut off from preaching, and he could scarcely even write as an Anglican. Far from being the spectacular preacher and leader of a religious revival, he had been completely shut in, with a few young friends who spent most of their days in silent study and prayer. Yet within a few years of his becoming a Catholic, the Pope had instructed him to found a new religious community of Oratorians in England. The English Hierarchy had been suddenly restored, and Newman had been brought into the full limelight as a Catholic champion. The Irish bishops had then invited him to found a Catholic University in Dublin, and the Pope himself had given active encouragement to his plans. The Achilli trial won him the sympathy of Catholics all over the world, and funds poured in to pay for his legal expenses, which even gave him a surplus available for building the new University chapel. It is no wonder that he thought of it, not as an Irish University, but as the " new Catholic University *in* Ireland " which was to be " the Catholic University of the English tongue for the whole world ". Even in May 1854 he was still speaking of it, in a memorandum to the Irish bishops, as " a University for the Catholics of Ireland and of other countries which speak the English tongue ".

Father McGrath helps to convey the perspective by describing the then recent development of the modern Catholic University of Louvain.

There were obvious analogies between Belgium and Ireland. In 1831, after Belgium had won its independence, freedom of education was proclaimed in the new Constitution; and in February 1834 the Belgian bishops announced the foundation of a new Catholic University. It began with only 86 students in 1835, but within four years the number had risen to nearly 400, and it reached 754 by 1859. The bright example of Louvain had inspired Archbishop MacHale when he led the opposition to Peel's Colleges Bill in 1845. MacHale had opposed the Colleges Bill much more vehemently than most of the other bishops. When the Bill passed into law without any amendment of its prohibition of religious teaching, there was a general condemnation of the " godless " Colleges. But if provision for religious teaching within the Queen's Colleges had been admitted, there would almost certainly have been a majority for giving them a fair trial. MacHale, however, had insisted that Ireland ought to be given a definitely Catholic University, and he would have had the Cork and Galway Colleges entirely Catholic, even to the exclusion of the many southern Protestants who had been active in the agitation for provincial colleges. In that view John O'Connell supported MacHale; and he won over his father, who had previously desired to have some form of " mixed " education, in the belief that it would encourage Catholics and Protestants to collaborate.

Newman himself knew practically nothing of the contentious background in Ireland when he accepted the invitation from the Irish bishops to become rector of a Catholic University in Dublin. He had been still leading a hermit's life at Littlemore when the Colleges Bill was passed in 1845. He had been in Rome, absorbed in his plans for founding the Oratory in England, and acquainting himself with Roman questions and practice, at the time of the Young Ireland rising and collapse in 1848. In his Anglican days he had abhorred O'Connell, as a noisy demagogue who dragged religion into politics and allied himself with the Dissenters in trying to pull down the Church of England. But O'Connell had died in 1847, and Newman knew nothing of the controversies between Old and Young Irelanders during the first years of his life as a Catholic. He knew, however, that the Irish bishops had condemned the Queen's Colleges, and forbidden any priest to accept a position in them even as a chaplain. He knew that the Irish Catholics were therefore deprived of university education, and the invitation from the Irish bishops showed that they desired to meet that need by founding a new University under their own direction and by their own efforts. The rapid success and the growing prestige of Louvain showed what results could be achieved in a Catholic country. The Irish bishops themselves stated repeatedly that the Pope fully shared their desire that the Catholic University should be founded. One of their addresses to the People of Ireland in September 1850 said explicitly that " the Holy Father suggested the founding of a

Catholic University ", in consideration of the fact that the Church lacked any University " upon that vast territory, extending through a large part of the old and new world, where the English language is spoken as the mother tongue ".

In face of such definite declarations, Newman might well feel that Irish politics would matter little, apart from being a constant source of friction. It should be borne in mind that the invitation to him from the Irish Hierarchy in 1851 came at a time when Newman was extremely apprehensive about his future work in England. There is a widespread impression, because of Newman's later difficulties with Manning and the Ultramontanes in England, that he never received real encouragement as a Catholic and was always thwarted by suspicions. But in fact he was much more frustrated in his last years as an Anglican than he was at any time as a Catholic. As a young tutor at Oxford, when he was Vicar of St. Mary's, he had attained an extraordinary influence as leader of the Tractarian movement, during the years between the publication of his first " Tract for the Times " in 1833 and the cessation of the Tracts at the beginning of 1841. He could claim that his famous Tract XC had never been formally condemned by the Church of England, but he was compelled to discontinue the series. Within a few years he had resigned his living at Oxford, had ceased to preach or even to write on controversial subjects, and even resigned his fellowship at Oriel. During his years of seclusion at Littlemore he scarcely saw any of his friends, and his active influence had entirely ceased. In contrast with that state of seclusion, he had been most cordially welcomed as a Catholic after his conversion. Less than three years after the invitation to Ireland, he was directly informed by Cardinal Wiseman, in January 1854, that he was to be made a bishop, besides being superior of the Oratorians and rector of the University, in order to strengthen his authority in dealing with the Irish Hierarchy. To say that he was frustrated simply because he was a convert, in view of all these emphatic marks of confidence and encouragement, is simply absurd. A long period of frustration in England did follow, as a result of Cardinal Manning's distrust of what he regarded as liberalism in Newman ; but the opposition came not from the old English Catholics or from the Irish Catholics, but from a group of converts who surrounded Manning and who tried to impose their own ideas.

The real cause of his failure to establish the University arose from a combination of difficulties which he had no means of appreciating before he went to Dublin. He did not know that there were so few young men in Ireland who could have taken advantage of University education. Father McGrath shows how small was the number of pupils even in the secondary schools. Even if a charter had been granted for conferring degrees, the students would have been so few that there would have been

very limited resources. But Newman had hoped to enrol a large number from England and even from America, and he was keenly disappointed by the lack of support from English Catholics. The idea of founding a Catholic University in England had been seriously considered for some twenty years before he went to Dublin. Bishop Baines of the Western District had seriously intended to set up a University at Prior Park, when he bought that palatial building in 1830 to serve as a seminary and a secondary school, with a senior department. He even persuaded Wiseman to come to England in 1835 as head of his University; and the Pope gave his consent to Wiseman leaving the rectorship of the English College in Rome to undertake the experiment. The plan never materialised because Wiseman and Bishop Baines found at once that collaboration between them was impossible. But the idea had been under consideration ever since; and Newman had ample reason to expect effective support from England when the Pope encouraged him to found a Catholic University in Ireland.

Even when the Achilli trial intervened to distract his mind and cause so much interruption and anxiety, Newman could contemplate the future with much brighter hopes than when he first returned to England from Rome. He had long and intimate experience of University life at Oxford, and he knew his own power to influence and inspire young men. In regard to his future work in England, he had been full of misgivings. He had deliberately fortified himself against suspicion and criticism by modelling his plans for the Oratory upon Roman practice, and by obtaining direct approval from Rome for all that he intended. Wiseman had been his chief and almost only sympathiser before he became a Catholic, and had become his direct patron since. Now that Wiseman was a Cardinal and head of the restored Hierarchy, his friendship was more potent than before; but Newman was keenly aware of the hostility towards Wiseman which was felt by many of the clergy, especially in the London District. When Wiseman was still a bishop in the Midlands, they had settled upon Birmingham as the seat for the Oratory because Wiseman would be there; but Newman had cautiously decided that it was safer to leave the original instructions from Rome unchanged, when Wiseman was transferred to London and wished Newman to follow him.

But in Ireland there was no question of his being the protégé of any one bishop, since he had been invited by the whole Irish Hierarchy. He knew nothing about Ireland, and had no thought of being involved in Irish controversies. His commission was to provide a Catholic University in place of the Queen's Colleges which the bishops had condemned; and he took it for granted that a Catholic University was really wanted, and that he was not being used merely as a figurehead. He discovered soon that the desire for a University was much less insistent

than he had expected. The aged Archbishop Murray particularly had no enthusiasm for it at all. Dr. Murray was in fact so discouraging during the brief period until he died in 1852, that Newman said afterwards that he believed the project could never have been started in Dublin so long as Dr. Murray lived. Newman never even met him; but he had discovered that Dr. Murray would not even attend his opening lectures and that everything connected with the University would incur his disapproval. In his Memorandum afterwards Newman recalls the early warnings he had received, that he had really been invited "to be flung at the head of the advocates of the Queen's Colleges, and not to introduce a positive policy". He had not realised that both Dr. Murray in Dublin and Archbishop Crolly in Armagh had striven hard to effect a compromise which would have made the Queen's Colleges workable. The strongest advocate of a definitely Catholic University had been Dr. MacHale. Dr. Crolly had died in 1849; and the prospects seemed to have improved immeasurably when Dr. Cullen, who had been brought from Rome to become Archbishop of Armagh, was in 1852 translated to Dublin. He had been closely associated with MacHale in securing the condemnation of the Queen's Colleges; and his arrival in Dublin not only replaced the unsympathetic Dr. Murray but gave hope of full cooperation for the success of the University.

The whole story is unfolded in this fascinating book, with many new letters which supplement Newman's well-known records. Newman had none of the political instinct, which was so strong in Manning, for forming a party and playing off one group against another. He concentrated entirely on his own work, meeting each difficulty as it arose, and becoming more and more baffled by the complications that surrounded him. The former alliance between MacHale and Cullen had seemed to promise support from them both. And the fact that Newman relied largely on Lucas, who was then editing *The Tablet* in Dublin, ought to have ensured the sympathy of MacHale. But Lucas had allied himself with Gavan Duffy when Duffy returned to active politics and founded the Tenant League; and Duffy had been the champion of the Queen's Colleges when the *Nation* had led the whole Young Ireland Party to support them. Lucas was moreover handicapped by his past, as a Quaker who had become a Catholic and had little acquaintance with normal Protestant views either in England or in Ireland. But within two years of his conversion, Lucas had become editor of the only Catholic weekly newspaper in England. He had quarrelled with nearly all the leading Catholics before he transferred *The Tablet* to Dublin; but he had brought his sub-editor, Robert Ornsby, with him. Ornsby was a more temperate adviser for Newman, when he looked to his English friends for guidance. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and a clergyman, before he became a Catholic;

and Newman relied considerably upon him, at the outset, for information about Irish conditions.

But no advice, whether from Irish or from English sources, could have enabled him to circumvent the inherent difficulties. It has often been said that Newman incurred Cullen's disapproval by his deliberate encouragement of Young Irelanders, just as he aroused the indignation of MacHale by introducing English professors and by claiming authority to appoint them. Father McGrath deals fully with all such questions, quoting many letters and documents. There is certainly no evidence to show that Newman ever favoured any candidate on the ground that he had been connected with Young Ireland; and he was well aware that Cullen regarded all Young Irelanders with distrust. But Newman chose his staff in the light of his own best judgment, and he refused to allow political considerations to interfere. John Pigot, the Chief Baron's son, who had been an intimate friend of Davis, impressed Newman at once, though he "talked like a republican". Cullen then brought the Archbishop of Halifax with him to dissuade Newman from appointing Pigot. "Dr. Cullen always compared Young Ireland to Young Italy," he wrote afterwards; "and with the most intense expression of words and countenance, assured me they never came right, never—he knew them from his experience in Rome". Even so, Newman recommended the appointment of Pigot, and also of W. K. Sullivan (who afterwards succeeded Sir Robert Kane as President of Queen's College, Cork), besides O'Hagan and O'Curry and Denis Florence McCarthy. He regarded them as the ablest men he could find in Ireland, and he desired to appoint Irishmen wherever possible. In his first report to the bishops he could claim that out of twenty-one Professors and Lecturers so far appointed, "all the resident and salaried teachers but two are of the Irish nation". Even of those who were non-resident and not salaried, "only seven out of twenty-three were of any nation whatever but the Irish".

Perhaps his keenest disappointment was the failure of the English Catholics to give him support. In the beginning he had hoped to enlist at least a few men of international renown to give kudos to the new University. He invited Dollinger from Munich and the American convert Orestes Brownson, but neither could be got. Only a few Englishmen were actually employed, and among them was Hungerford Pollen, as Professor of Fine Arts. Newman appointed him on his own responsibility to design the University Chapel, as he would pay for this himself from the Achilli trial donations. Even before the University opened he was beset with warnings that there was strong opposition to English appointments; and he was careful to avoid associating too closely with his English friends. But in England he was criticised for making the University too exclusively Irish. He retorted to his critics that they had done next to nothing to give help.

" Here is my time nearly out," he wrote to J. M. Capes in February 1857, in answer to complaints in the *Rambler*. " How can I hope an Englishman will succeed me? How can I hope an Englishman will be Vice-Rector, when Englishmen have done so little, and do nothing? . . . There are many ways in which English gentlemen might aid us, without committing themselves, if they were suspicious of our permanence. Let them make a fund for an English House. They might keep the money in their own hands and give the interest, or they might subscribe early. A few hundred a year would be plenty, and make a great show. Or let them do a thing which *must* be good, whatever comes of the University, e.g. set up a School of Physical Science or make us a present of instruments and apparatus . . . The Irish have gone out of their way to appoint an English Rector; the English have done nothing to support him."

In a concluding chapter Father McGrath surveys the many reasons which made success impossible, and the difficulties which compelled Newman to resign. Newman's concept of the University is stated clearly in his discourses and in his University essays; and Father McGrath presents an excellent summary of his ideas, while throwing new light from many letters and extracts which he has skilfully pieced together. One of the most revealing letters is from Newman to Dr. Moriarty, whose encouragement helped him greatly.

For myself, even if I were a Bishop and an Irishman," Newman wrote, " I have not the talent of ruling; I never had. I have never ruled, and never been in a position of authority before. I can begin things, and I never aspired to do more.

The same attitude appears in the letter which he wrote to his friend Ornsby from Birmingham, at the end of 1859, after he had resigned the rectorship.

The great thing was to *set up*, and then leave the direction of things to the currents which would determine it. If I *was* to begin, I must begin with some plan. I began with that plan which I thought best. I could not have begun without a plan, I could not have begun with any other. It does not prove that what I have written and planned will not take effect some time and some where, because it does not at once . . . . When I am gone, something may come of what I have done at Dublin. And since I hope I did what I did, not for the sake of men, not for the sake of the Irish University, not even for the Pope's praise, but for the sake of God's Church and God's glory, I have nothing to regret and nothing to desire, different from what it is.

Much of the material which Father McGrath quotes is already known in Newman's published writings and correspondence, but he has provided a new and admirably clear synthesis from all the available sources. This book includes a great deal which is entirely new, even to those who have made a close study of the literature concerning Newman. His main source has been the immense collection of Newman's letters which have been patiently assembled and arranged at the Birmingham Oratory by Father Henry Tristram. Father Tristram has given him full use of all the materials which he had himself arranged for a book about Newman and the University

but has never had time to complete. Few men have ever written so many letters as Newman did in his long life ; and it is remarkable that, at almost all periods, those who received letters from Newman on any subject usually preserved them. Father Tristram has been assembling either the originals or transcripts of them for many years, and the archives at the Oratory have been so thoroughly sorted and arranged by him that anyone who is allowed to use them owes him an immense debt of gratitude. But in addition to the Oratory archives, Father McGrath has made full use of another collection. The correspondence of Dr. Woodlock, who succeeded Newman as rector of the University in Dublin, covers the years 1861 to 1879, and it includes a number of letters from Newman to his successor on questions concerning the University. Various other collections of papers, including the Dublin diocesan archives, have also been thoroughly investigated, and Father McGrath's footnotes give a great number of references to them. His book is chiefly a presentation of the whole story from Newman's point of view. But Father McGrath appears to have followed every possible clue. He discusses each question with a balanced judgment which is never ponderous, and he constantly points out any differences of opinion or conflicts of statement that have arisen.

Denis Gwynn

TERCENTENARY OF A PIONEER IN EDUCATION

ST. JOHN BAPTIST DE LA SALLE AND THE TRAINING OF PRIMARY TEACHERS

BY LIAM O RUAIRC, F.S.C.

WE celebrate this year the tercentenary of St. John Baptist de la Salle, who was born at Rheims on 30 April, 1651, and died as founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools on Good Friday, 7 April, 1719. Of noble birth, it is typical of seventeenth-century France that Jean-Baptiste, eldest son of the family, having made it clear that he wished to be a priest and nothing else, was installed as a Canon of the metropolitan see of Rheims at the age of sixteen. He was not ordained to the priesthood until 1678, when he was twenty-seven years old ; and he took his doctorate in theology two years later.

For some years before his ordination, when the death of his father and mother threatened for a time to make his studies for the priesthood impossible, young M. de la Salle had put himself under the direction of Nicholas Roland, a saintly Canon of the chapter of Rheims. From Roland he got the best of the traditional French piety and zeal of *le grand siècle*. His vocation to apostolic work led him finally to renounce his canonry and dedicate his life to the work of teaching poor children in 1683. During the winter of 1684 M. de la Salle distributed his whole fortune among the poor of the city ; from that day he belonged wholly to them.

There is no need to tell here the long and complicated story of the new Institute, which was not established without many difficulties and personal trials.[1] Irish readers will perhaps be interested in one aspect of the Saint's work which, though it did not prove permanently successful in the first experimental foundations, gives us an insight into the principles which determined his whole educational policy. The founder's work became more and more clearly defined in his mind as the adequate provision, not only of Catholic schools for poor children, but of properly trained Catholic elementary teachers. His own Institute was founded to meet that need ; but the Brothers who taught in the Institute's schools could never be numerous enough to meet the needs of so vast a multitude. Hence the thought of founding special training colleges, at which lay teachers might be formed for their life's work in a Catholic atmosphere and according to Catholic principles. To-day Frenchmen are familiar with the work of L'Ecole Normale. We need to be reminded that the mere notion of such a school was a daring novelty in the lifetime of St. John Baptist de la Salle.

[1] The most recent accounts in English are by W. J. Battersby : *De la Salle, Saint and Pioneeer in Education* (Longmans, 1949) : and *De la Salle, Saint and Spiritual Writer* (Longmans, 1950).

We must turn back to the France of Louis XIV ; the France which St. John Baptist knew so well—not from the court of Versailles, but from the daily experience of his work for poor children in the schools which he had founded or helped to found. For the first foundations had been made at a time when he himself was not yet ready to abandon his canonry and devote himself wholly to the cause of elementary education. A group of voluntary teachers had begun the good work under the guidance of a layman named Adrien Nyel in 1679, just one year after Canon de la Salle's ordination to the priesthood. The Canon came to Nyel's help in that year, and again in 1680 ; seeing to it that two schools should be opened for the poor children of two parishes in his native city of Rheims. Then he withdrew from the direction of these schools for a time, leaving the work to Nyel and his companions. But the small group of voluntary workers needed more than help : they needed wise counsel and personal direction. By 1682 Canon de la Salle had taken up residence with them and had begun to share their daily work. In 1683, as we have seen, he resigned his canonry ; and by 1684 the renunciation of all his worldly prospects was complete.

What M. Nyel and Canon de la Salle were doing at Rheims was being done elsewhere in France at this time. St. Peter Fourier, then a parish priest at Mattaincourt in Lorraine, had attempted to organize a congregation of priests for the education of young boys as early as 1597 ; but his plans had failed, though he was successful in establishing the Sisters of Notre Dame in the last years of the century. The decrees of the Council of Trent had urged the need of better provision for Catholic education, and we can trace the growth of a general movement throughout France in the seventeenth century. The work of organizing schools for the education of girls went forward quicker than the work for boys in elementary schools. In 1678 Father Barré, who had founded the Congregation of the Ladies of St. Maur, gathered together a number of young men in the hope of founding a religious congregation for the education of boys ; but again the plan came to nothing. About the same time a priest of the diocese of Lyons, Charles Demia, began to organize popular schools in the city and diocese of Lyons. Very soon he felt the need of suitable training for the teachers whom he could use in the new schools. As a start he began to invite priests and laymen whom he knew and trusted to his house in Lyons, giving them first advice, then a set of rules for their guidance. On 7 May 1674 he obtained a decree from the Archbishop, forbidding any person to keep a primary school without permission of the Ordinary of the diocese ; every teacher was further required to promise that he would observe the new rules for teachers which Demia had drafted. Very soon the masters who had been trained in this new system were in demand everywhere. In 1688 we find no less than seventy-six schools in the diocese of Lyons : twenty-six for boys, thirty-three for girls, and

seventeen mixed schools. The Bishops of Grenoble, Toulon and Chalons wrote to Demia, asking him to send some of his teachers to their dioceses, and they sent young men to be trained by him at Lyons. What is now known as the mutual system of teaching was used in part by Demia in his schools, the older pupils being encouraged to asssist the master in his work. A seminary known as the Community of Saint Charles had been opened as early as 1672 ; it was approved by the Archbishop of Lyons in 1679 and was recognised by letters patent in May 1680. M. Demia did not reside in this seminary, but he directed it with the help of a school board, half clerical, half lay. Despite all his efforts, this work of training primary teachers did not prove permanent. After Demia's death in 1689 the Community of Saint Charles became an ordinary seminary for clerical students.

M. Demia would have preferred to employ none but priests in his elementary schools, and this limitation of his work was no doubt one reason for its failure. In Rheims Canon de la Salle took a wider view. In 1684, the year which was marked by his final renunciation of the canonry and the distribution of all his worldly property, he had already brought into being two separate houses : one a noviciate for the training of young Brothers of the Christian Schools, the other a community house for those who had already bound themselves by vow to the work of teaching poor children. There were to be no priests in the new congregation which he was planning, but the Brothers were to be carefully prepared for their work both as religious men and as teachers. A third house was now added to the existing two communities. This was to be a seminary for training schoolmasters under the general direction of the Brothers. As compared with M. Demia's Community of Saint Charles, it was exclusively devoted to the training of lay primary teachers. It has thus been justly claimed that this seminary, which came into existence at Rheims in 1684, is the forerunner of the modern French Ecole Normale. The Annals of the Institute tell us that twenty-five virtuous young men began their studies in the new seminary under the personal direction of the saintly founder. Soon a number of priests and pious laymen began to interest themselves in the noble work of equipping teachers to promote the spread of popular Catholic education. Since no charge was made for board, lodging or tuition in the seminary, it was necessary for the founder's own family to take most of the responsibility for its maintenance.

The idea was new, and it was inevitable that there should be opposition to so great a departure from old ways. Opposition came from the quarter where it might perhaps have been least expected. The Duc de Mazarin, nephew of the famous Cardinal, owned great estates in the neighbourhood of Rheims. He consulted the founder of the new Institute, and was advised to found a seminary similar to the one which was now functioning

in the city, for the training of teachers who could then open schools in every town and hamlet of the Duke's vast estates. A deed of contract was drawn up in the presence of the public notary of Rethel, by which the Duke agreed to endow seventeen burses in perpetuity for the education of " young men destined to be instructed in the true maxims of Christian pedagogy, as also to read, write and sing well, in order that they may afterwards teach the youth of the burghs, villages and hamlets in the duchy of Mazarin ". The school was to be under the direction of two Brothers deputed for that purpose by " the aforesaid Sieur de la Salle ". Monseigneur Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, was asked to sanction the new work. He refused in words which have been recorded in the Annals of the Institute : " Are you both mad ? ", he said to the Duke and Saint John Baptist (" *Vous êtes donc deux fous* ! ") Other influences were brought to bear on the Duke, and for a time he lost interest in the scheme and annulled the agreement. But his better judgment prevailed, and he came back to Saint John Baptist with a new and ingenious plan. His estates extended beyond the diocese of Rheims into the diocese of Laon, where the Bishop was a friend of the Duke and the Saint. New articles of agreement were drawn up. Since the territory for which provision was being made was less extensive, the number of burses is now reduced. The new deed goes over the same ground as the deed which had been witnessed by the notary of Rethel : it bears the date 22 September 1685.

This was the first, but not the only foundation made outside Rheims by Saint John Baptist for the education of primary teachers. He was in touch with those who were working for the same cause at Lyons, and Demia's " Remonstrances " were forwarded to him for examination and approval. In 1699 he opened a new seminary for primary teachers in the Faubourg Saint Marcel of Paris, to which was attached a poor school where the young masters could be trained in the work of teaching under the guidance of an experienced Brother. In 1708 he opened a second training college near Paris at Saint Denis, which won the admiration of Cardinal de Noailles and in which Madame de Maintenon took a deep interest. As a mark of his personal favour Louis XIV granted this house exemption from the burden of having soldiers billeted on it during the wars which caused such distress throughout France in the King's last years. None of these seminaries was to prove permanent ; but they remain as a witness to the Saint's keen interest in the problem of training primary teachers, and they are a good illustration of the practical sense which guided him in work of this kind.

The best description of the nature and scope of these seminaries for lay teachers is to be found in an account of the work done at Rheims which the Saint wrote in 1688 : the manuscript is still preserved in the archives of the Institute.

> We are engaged also in training masters for country schools in a house which is distinct from the community, and which is called a seminary. Those who are trained in this house only live there for a few years, until they have received a complete training both in piety and in all that belongs to their work. They do not wear any other habit than such as is worn by men in the world. They are taught to sing, read and write perfectly; they receive free board, lodging and laundry; and at the end of their training they are placed in some town or village to do the work of clerk. Once they are placed, they have no further connection with the community save what is suitable; but they are allowed to live with the community during times of retreat.

The founder makes use of the phrase: *Séminaire de maîtres d'école.* The word 'seminary' is properly used of a nursery garden, and the word 'nursery' calls up the idea of intelligent cultivation, assiduous and appropriate care. The profession of a teacher requires serious and adequate preparation, and it was to make such preparation easier that the Saint insisted that his new seminary for schoolmasters should be entirely separated from the community house with its school. The discipline of a training college or *école normale* has its distinctive characteristics. Often the new schoolmaster will be left to his own resources in a country parish before he has reached his twentieth year. To him is confided the nurture of the minds and hearts of young children. The very nature of his work multiplies dangerous occasions. Hence the need of the careful and serious preparation which Saint John Baptist judged to be essential for the success of his work.

We have no precise information as to the number of years which the young men spent in the seminaries founded by the Saint. To judge from his words quoted above, it would seem that the period of training lasted for some years. They remained under the founder's personal direction until they had received "a complete training in piety and in all that belonged to their work". Experience had taught this great educator that the mere passing of examinations was not a sufficient preparation for the classroom. He knew that without a special training in the science of education young men can rarely become efficient teachers.

Training in solid Catholic piety was the first aim of these seminaries. The means which the founder adopted to prepare the young seminarists for their work in the country were more or less the same as those which he used for the sanctification of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Special times were set aside every day for meditation, spiritual reading and religious instruction. We read in the Annals that the way of life and almost all the rules of the Brothers were introduced into the seminary at Rheims. Silence and recollection were observed as well as other exercises of piety. The seminarists differed from the Brothers in their clothing, but they had the same modesty and interior recollection. The results were what we might expect from such a training. Dom Elie Maillefer, the founder's nephew and one of his first biographers, tells us that these

young teachers " produced marvellous fruit by their good example, their piety and their fidelity to the duties of their profession ". Canon Blain, another biographer of these early years, tells us that the founder saw his charitable labours crowned by the Lord's blessing which followed these young masters when they went back to their villages. They went out like a new colony of fervent and fiery apostles, eager to teach the children Christian doctrine. No better proof of the confidence which the founder had in his young seminarists can be found than the simple fact that he never hesitated to let these schoolmasters replace his own Brothers in the classroom.

Though moral and religious training held the first place in these seminaries, the intellectual training of the future educators of a younger generation was not neglected. The course of studies was carefully planned to give the schoolmasters a thorough grasp of the subjects taught in the elementary schools of those days. The earliest biographers give the following list of subjects taught in the seminary at Rheims : plain chant, reading of printed matter and of manuscripts, penmanship, grammar and spelling of the French language, and arithmetic which included the complicated weights and measures then in use. A few words are needed to explain the importance of each of these subjects.

Saint John Baptist had himself no taste for music, but he knew that one of the chief functions of the country teacher was to direct the singing in the parish churches. Hence he provided means to have his schoolmasters given a thorough mastery of plain chant. The teacher was in fact an important person in the weekly liturgical life of the parish. " You are the ambassadors and ministers of Jesus Christ in the fulfilment of your duties ", the Saint used to tell his young teachers ; and it is worth recalling that in 1684—the very year which saw the establishment of the first seminary for teachers in Rheims—the General Assembly of the French clergy decreed that schoolmasters " clothed in their surplices should be incensed in the church, and should hold the place of honour above all the laity, even the aristocracy of the parish ".

Writing had, of course, been taught in primary schools for centuries before the days of Saint John Baptist. The schoolmaster was as often as not the village's professional scribe, and could thus find an additional source of income as letter-writer for the parish. For this reason many teachers were slow to teach writing in their classrooms. Indeed writing masters had organized themselves as a guild in the sixteenth century, apparently for mutual protection against the encroachment of other teachers. Saint John Baptist broke up this monopoly of the professional writers, and at the same time did his best to simplify penmanship. In his description of the training college at Rheims he says that the seminarists were taught " to write perfectly ". Those words mean much on the lips of the great educator. And his policy of teaching all children how to write

was far ahead of what was generally accepted in his day or in the next century. Voltaire protested frequently against the notion that the working population of France should be taught how to write. " We need only one pen for two or three hundred arms ", he used to say ; and in England the same restrictive mentality was common. " Reading will help the people's morals ", said Jonas Hanway in 1786 ; " but writing is not necessary ". Hannah More (1745–1833) was as definite in her views : " I allow no writing for the poor ".

If the art of writing was a monopoly of the few, reading was a more exacting task in the seventeenth century than it is to-day. The schoolmaster had to be prepared to decipher old registers and parchments as well as to read from the printed page. Skill and speed in deciphering old charters or manuscripts was an important test in the seminaries and we are told that teachers were frequently rejected if they failed to decipher the old deeds or charters of a township. Those who have had experience in deciphering such documents, often written in a script that is most difficult to read, cannot fail to respect the intelligence and patience of the teacher or advanced pupil who became expert in this work. The founder's students were also expected to read easily from books that were printed in the old-fashioned " black letter " or Gothic characters. One of the earliest handbooks written for the guidance of these teachers says that " while they are learning to read manuscripts, the master shall teach them also how to read in some book printed in Gothic letters, showing them once a day the characters, abbreviations, ligatures and capitals used in this kind of printing ".

Reading and writing were taught in the French language, not in Latin. Here again Saint John Baptist must be ranked among the pioneers of modern education. Throughout almost the whole of the seventeenth century children in France were taught to read Latin before they were taught to read in their own vernacular. In England this custom had been changed in the sixteenth century, with the breakaway from Rome and the Catholic priesthood. In France it was still considered the normal system almost to the close of the seventeenth century, and children were frequently withdrawn from school before they had learned to read in their mother tongue. It was only after great opposition that Saint John Baptist succeeded in his policy of having French taught before Latin. He encouraged his schoolmasters to make the mother tongue the basis of all their instruction. They thus prepared the way for a more general study of France's national literature, and opened up avenues of knowledge and recreation that had been hitherto encumbered with a vast amount of learned rubbish.

By 1690 the method of teaching used in the seminary at Rheims was the envy of the schoolmasters of Paris. Lay teachers came to Rheims to acquire this method, and the founder gave them frequent oral lessons in the art of pedagogy. He had the good custom of making his students

commit a number of wise and practical counsels to writing for their guidance in the early years of their professional careers. Later on, when he was at Vaugirard, he gathered these precepts and counsels together into an admirable school manual which he called *La Conduite des Ecoles*. This book was not printed before 1720, the year after the founder's death; but there is a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris which goes back at least to the year 1706.

From the point of view of technical preparation for the work of teaching, the founder's most remarkable creation was the *Ecole d'Application*, which was established at the Faubourg Saint Marcel in 1699. Here a poor school was attached to the new seminary which had been founded in that year, so that the young masters might gain practical experience under the direction of a Brother. Canon Blain tells us that this school was opened in the same house as the seminary: one class was taken by a young seminarist in the presence of the senior Brother, whilst the other was taken by a younger Brother. Each seminarist was required to gain his first experience of the classroom in this way. This method, we may add, is exactly what takes place to-day in the " practising schools " attached to the Training Colleges in Ireland.

In this *Ecole d'Application* Saint John Baptist was able to demonstrate the practical advantage of grading the children according to their capacity, putting those of more or less the same capacity in one class and having them use the same book and follow the same lesson under one master. In other words, the founder was initiating his young seminarists into what we know to-day as the simultaneous method. Down to his time the individual method prevailed in French schools. Each boy in turn stood up before the teacher and recited or read his lesson, and then resumed his seat giving place to another. Much time was thus lost, the stimulus of emulation was absent and on the whole the results were poor. Saint John Baptist was not the first to use a more modern method. The Jesuits, for example, had organised their classes in sub-divisions, each division being headed by an advanced pupil known as the *decurio*, to whom the other boys recited their lessons at stated times whilst the master heard the lessons of special pupils. The whole class afterwards heard an explanation of the subject-matter from the master. This system gave scope for emulation whilst order and discipline were maintained in the classroom. Masters of primary schools were at first slow to imitate these methods. Pierre Fourier printed his " Constitutions " in 1640, in which he laid down the following rule to be followed for his schools for girls: " The inspectress or mistress of class shall endeavour as far as possible to see that all the pupils of the same mistress have each the same book in order that all may learn and read therein the same lesson: so that whilst one is reading her lesson in an audible and intelligible voice before the mistress, all the others, hearing her and following this lesson in their books at the same

time, may learn it more quickly, easily and perfectly." It is the principle of the simultaneous method, though Pierre Fourier lost sight of this same principle when he entered into the practical details of classwork in his schools.

Saint John Baptist was insistent that his schoolmasters should not instruct single pupils privately outside of school hours, nor publicly in school. "*Omnes simul et semel*" was his watchword: all together at one and the same time. All pupils of the same capacity should have the same book: all should listen in silence to the master. There is no uncertainty about the founder's language in regard to the method which his teachers are to follow. During the lessons his masters are (1) to correct every word that the scholar who is reading has pronounced badly; (2) to cause all who read in the same lesson to follow it together; and (3) to have silence strictly observed in the school.

By 1684 what Pierre Fourier and Charles Demia had sought to establish was an accomplished fact in Rheims. John Baptist de la Salle had organised his Brothers of the Christian Schools, and had established the first of his seminaries for lay teachers. He had also given his Brothers and schoolmasters the simultaneous method of teaching in the classroom. As we glance through the pages of his admirable manual *La Conduite des Ecoles*, we find scattered through the book many rules that are derived from the central principle of this method; and we find much more. To quote Matthew Arnold, who knew this handbook well: "Later works on the same subject have little improved his precepts, while they entirely lack the unction".

To-day the whole work of training primary teachers has become an important function of the State in most countries. The financial difficulties which checked the development of our founder's seminaries have made such a solution inevitable. But the Brothers of the Christian Schools have not lost their interest in this most important aspect of their work. Scattered through many lands, they are at present conducting seventeen training colleges for the professional training of lay primary teachers. Here in Ireland the De La Salle Training College at Waterford was one of the first foundations made in this country during the past century. And in Ireland, as in all the Catholic world, there was general rejoicing when, by a Brief dated 15 May 1950, His Holiness Pope Pius XII declared Saint John Baptist de la Salle principal patron of all Christian teachers of youth.

LIAM Ó RUAIRC

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

A POET ATTACKS A BOASTFUL FELLOW-POET

GOFRAIDH MAC AN BHAIRD .cc.

1. A fhir shealbhas duit an dán,
coimseach re cách do bhéalrádh ;
a dhuine maith, mas maith sibh
do mhaith ní maith gan mhaoidhimh.

2. Níor thógbhais má tharla rot
seanrann do-róineadh reomhot :—
" neach féin go mór dá mholadh
céim is lór dá lochtoghadh ".

3. Do thiomsaighthe teasd molta
ad dhán d'fhoclaibh arrachta
dá ccor a n-eagar ort féin
eagal a thocht 'n-a thoibhéim.

4. Bheith duitse ad bhreitheamh bhalach,
's ad chroinicidh comhramhach,
an t-ainmsin dá rádha ribh,
's ad thairsigh Dhána Dírigh.

5. 'Sé dá rádh go riacht tusa
go finit a bhforusa
seacht ngráidh na bhfileadh ar fad
sighean do-cháidh tar chumhag.

6. Go rángabhar roighne a cceard
na trí tighe a dtá an Ghaoidhealg,
gan fhocal is lugha libh
docar do thugha thairsibh.

7. Ná fill ó fhocal éidigh,
fríoth leatsa 's led leithéidibh
áth ar an aimsir a-nos ;
faillsigh do chách do chumus.

8. Aduimh marbhtha míle fear,
lá an mhórchatha (ar Mhuigh) Thuireadh,
mar admhus sibhse seacht ngráidh ;
do cheart irse an dá admháil.

9. Do-chuaidh sgaoileadh fa sgolaibh,
díosg ar ndul fan ealodhain,
a-tá do theannthacal libh,
neambacadh trá ar do thuislibh.

10. Teidhm ar chách ag cur as-teagh,
ionnlach suadh, (soidhealbh) mhaoidhmheadh,
t'eagla ar an gcarsain (dod) chur,
freagra arsaidh gan ughdar.

11. Teanga líomhtha gan lorg sgol,
sruth maoidhmheach fa mhian tuathadh,
mar taoi go ttuile as do ghion
saoi do dhuine ní dhingniodh.

12. Bíd daoine ag na bíd bearta
chanfas caint na himearta ;
ná (brath) ar a mbéalaibh sain
féaghaidh le (cath) an chearrbhaigh.

13. Na daoine ar ndul at aithne
liaide lucht do bhreathnaighthe ;
fear slimbearta dá rádh ruibh
glár na (himearta) aguibh.

14. Do thaidhbhse dána dalbhuigh,
t'iarraidh anma a n-ealadhnuibh,
súr ceana is meisde do mhodh,
meisge fa-deara a dhéanamh.

15. Ní d'abhras saor na seacht ngrádh
snáth t'oige ar aba iomrádh ;
a shnas ar a shníomh ní fhuil,
gach gníomh dar chas fad chrobhuibh.

16. Níor leanais a ló a fighthe
roinn mholta, modh oibrighthe,
an mhaoloige do mhaoidh sibh ;
daoroide dhaoibh do dhéichsin.

17. Ar na hocht n-iairmbéarla déag
deimhin nach dearnais coimhéad
lá a ndealbhtha, " cheana ", " ce chuin ",
beara dealbhtha tar dréachtuibh.

18. Innsgne a n-ionad a chéile,
ainm a n-ionad tuilréime,
réim (sunna) a n-ionad anma
cuma iodhan t'ealadhna.

19. Snáithe gearr ad ghréas slámach
snáithe meallach meangánach,
rer oile d'fhighe go glan
file oile ní fhéadfadh.

20. A n-áitibh ar-oile soin
ciall chomhnuidhe ciall shiubhoil,
maoithe is maoile a nbhur ndán,
caoiche claoine agus cleathrámh.

21. Neimhtheacht céille, cúis fhollas,
gnás ann agus ionannas,
seirbhe ráidh, gnúise garbha,
táin nach cúise ceanamhla.

22. Dearbh go n-uair th'oige dhána
meath a muilleann t'ucála
d'éis chara ad dháinghréassa dheit
láinléasa tana treimheit.

23. Duitse acht nach léir do lochta,
do theisd ní teisd ionmholta ;
t'uaill ag adhnadh asuibh féin
lasuir gan adhbhar eiséin.

24. Sguir feasda do labhra lán,
doirbh dod bhéal bheith ag siorrádh
gan ghabháil re glór ar bioth,
mór dot anáil nach dlighthioch.

25. Dámadh éidir eisdeacht dait
masa bhinn gach ní neamhait
as orghán bhur n-ionad feas
's do lonnán ionnad d'ainbhios.

26. Adhbhar sbéise do sbroigeacht,
cúis aithis bhar n-ardoideacht,
gidh (do) bhéilshlighe bhalg bhfis
is dréimire ard anbhfis.

27. Gidh glórach ghabhthaoi ret ais
asgnamh na n-aigéan n-iomhais
(iul eisde) go bhfaghadh sibh
meisde gan anadh idir.

28. Uirre má taoise treorach
feidhm ós niort é d'fhíreolach
an mhuir mhaoidhe do thomhas
saoidhe fhuil 'n-a hamharas.

29. Gidh diongmhála, a-deir tusa,
a sealbhadh (d') fhior eolasa
mór an feidhm dealbh an dána
do dhealbh ní deilbh dhiongmhála.

30. Ar dhlúth ar inneach t'oige
tarla tacha banchoige ;
a deilbh gan déanamh go se
meirbh le a féaghadh a fighe.
A fhir

Translation

1. My friend who has such pretensions to poetic art, folk find your language rather extravagant ; if you are so good, my good man, your goodness is well advertised !

2. You don't apply to yourself—if you have ever heard of it !—the ancient verse :— " Self-praise provokes dispraise ".

3. The piles of epithets with their bombastic language in your poetry would, I fear, did anyone apply then to yourself, turn to your confusion.

4. For instance those descriptions you give of yourself, " a splendid judge ", " a superb chronicler ", " a threshold of Dán Díreach ".

5. And your claim to have reached the very furthest point of the Poets' Seven Degrees —a diploma quite beyond your reach !

6. It is difficult—without saying things you will not like—to refute your saying that you have succeeded in making the very best products of the Three Mansions where Gaoidhealg dwells.

7. You and poets like you have got over the refinement of modern ways ; don't shrink from any expression however nasty ; show off your talent !

8. You say that a thousand heroes were slain on the great day of Magh Tuireadh, and you say too that you have passed Poetry's Seven Degrees ; those two statements (equally absurd) show what is your real claim to be thought learned.

9. The schools are dispersed, art is dried up, you can therefore now talk wildly, there is nothing to stop your clumping along.

10. A plague afflicting the world at present is poets' abusiveness, their perfect freedom to make boasts, their out-of-date and unauthorised answers to problems—'tis our fear of you that enables you to go on this way.

11. A smooth tongue regardless of schools' rules, a flood of big talk to please groundlings —the way you let such stuff pour from your mouth can never make a poet of any man.

12. There are folk, who, when they have no way of winning a trick, take to bluffing; don't mind a gambler's words, keep your eye on his play!

13. The more people come to know you, the more critics you shall have; your bluffing will get for you the name of a sharper.

14. Your show of pretentious poetry, your attempt at shining in the arts, your search for success—if it does not get you much further—are all due to a kind of intoxication.

15. Not of the noble yarn of the Seven Degrees is the stuff of your pretentious work; there is no neatness of texture in those pieces of poetry, which have gone askew beneath your hands.

16. When weaving that clumsy work that you talk so much about, you don't observe the proper arrangement of an adjective or the proper mood of a verb; you let it be seen you had a poor master.

17. Plainly you have no grasp on the eighteen *iairmbéarlas* when, against all the rules, you put *cheana* and *ce chuin* as finals.

18. One *innsgne* put for another, a nominative instead of a dative, a *réim* instead of a nominative—a nice kind of art is yours!

19. In your ragged work one line is too short, another though looking all right is wrongly formed—no other poet could with any credit to himself have woven such lines together.

20. Rest-construction and motion-construction are put one for the other in your work, also stupidity (?), silliness (?), riming of a word with itself, unmetrical words, want of symmetry.

21. Discrepancies, obviousness, platitude, tautology, cacophony, wrong alliteration—not a very attractive lot of faults!

22. Your poetic work has certainly been ruined in your tucking-mill, for you have let a long thin blister run through its fabric.

23. Your repute as a poet is poor, though you yourself can not see your faults; your self-satisfaction is a flame with nothing to feed on.

24. Cease your mouthing; 'tis hard on your lips to be always in motion without ever happening on anything worth saying; much of your breath is used in breaking rules of speech.

25. Only when you give up talking, or when ugly things begin to be admired—only then can that knowledge, now bursting out from you while inside you are full of ignorance, be compared with the music of an organ.

26. Your abuse (of any man) is a reason for respecting him; contempt is what you get from your dogmatising, your mouthing of knowledge-bubbles, your climbing up a high ladder of ignorance.

27. Though in boastful fashion you undertake to face the oceans of knowledge and thence (?) get wisdom, 'twould be better for you to be slow about it?

28 As you pretend familiarity with that sea which you boast of having explored, that is (—let me tell you—) a feat beyond the power of many a real poet ; he is a wise man who hesitates about it.

29. 'Tis right—as you say—that the poetic gift be possessed by a man of learning, still the composing of poetry is a mighty task ; your composition is unworthy of the name.

30. The web and woof of your work show that you need a woman-cook to help you ! ; poor indeed is the make-up of your new-fangled stuff.

NOTES

MSS : 23 L 17, 148 (L) ; 23 E 15, 183 (E) ; Q.U.B. MS (B). Text is L except as noted below. In L some lines being omitted the order is 25, 28, 27*ab*, 29*cd*, 30. 1*c* m. mas L *d* ni m. do mh. E 2*a* riot LE *c* -la E *d* -gha E 3*b* do chéim d'fh. B *d* tt., tt. B 4*b* -ice LEB ; -ogh- B *c* an dánsain B *d* sad ars- B, sa tairsidh L 5*c* ngrádh L ; -lidh L *d* -ghin LB ; do chúig o cumhag B 6*a* -g7 (*curve above*) L, -gadar E, -gapar B *b* ata LE *d* -car LE 7*a* -dig L *b* lead L ; -de L, -dse E *d* foi. LEB 8*b* muighe L, ar maigh EB *c* ngrádh L 9*a* sgaoile fa na LE, sna sgo. B *c* -ocal LB *d* -mhmb- L 10*a* Tuigh me ar cach B ; a cur EB, a cuir L, do cur B *b* seisealbh B, seiseilbh LE ; -mheach EB *c* ccorsan L ; do LEB *d* -sadh L 11*b* -dhf- L, -dhfeadh E, -dhmhe B ; miann L *c* taoi dá ttui. as a gh. B *d* dhiongna L, dhingnach E, 12*b* chungmas B chanmhas E ; -rtha LE *c* mblath LB, mblaith E ; sin LE *d* féach L ; cách LB ; an ccar L 13*a* dul L *b* li.a los do O *c* -beirteB, -beartach LE *d* himeirti B, himdhearga LE 14*a* ibhse LE ; -mhuigh LE, -mhuidh B *b* -rradh L 15*a* dodrus B *b* snáith LE; arab io. L *c* sn., sn. L ; bhfuil LE 16*a* bhf. LE *b* rann L *d* dhíbh L ; ga de. B 17*a* -laibh B ; ndéag L *b* -naois LE *c* lá ndea. B *d* -lbha EB ; dar ndr. B 18*a* -nnad *L* *b* -nnad L *c* sona LE ; -nnad ainme L *d* -adhne L 19*a* ghreis tsl. L *b* meadhanach B, mганach L *c* roille L 20*a* arroile L *b* chomhnach LE ; tsiu. LE *c* ann bhar L 21*c* radh LE 22*a* bhfuair LEB ; dana LE *c* cara L ; -eise LE, -esda B *d* -leiseadh LE ; -eid L 23*b* theist ort nach ion. B *c* aghn. LE 24*a* dod L ; -radh L *c* gabh. LEB ; bith L *d* dod dhanáil LEB ; -ghtbidh L 25*a* dhait L *b* binn LBE ; nidh LE ; neamhnait B *c* -gan L *d* -bhfios L 26*a* -phar B ; sp. B ; sproic. B *c* da B 27*a* hais *c* iul freisde (?) B *d* misti D 28*a* Uire LE *c* -mhuis LE *d* hamhruis L 29*b* d' *abest* *c* deilbh L *d* deilbh ní dealbh B 30*a* Air L ; dlúith LE *b* beanch E *c* ad dh. gan L *d* -chadh E.

BROUGH'S CAMPAIGN
(1597)
and the AMBUSH at TYRRELLSPASS: A CORRECTION

BY M. Ó BÁILLE, C.SS.R., M.A.

THE period 1594–1603 holds a special attraction for most students of Irish history. This is due primarily to the fact that it was a time of crisis, containing possibilities either of new development or of final destruction for the Gaelic nation. The outcome of this crisis hinged on the success or failure of the Nine Years war, and so the course of this trial of arms is of unusual interest and importance. The schoolboy also whose interest in history goes no deeper than the thrill of a good battle finds here a happy hunting-ground, even though he may put aside his book sadly as he draws near to the account of Kinsale. The Ford of the Biscuits, the Pass of the Plumes, 'the ambush at Tyrrellspass' are as sure of a place in his stock of history as are the greater actions at Clontibret, the Yellow Ford and the Curlews.

As may be expected, therefore, most aspects of this crucial war have received special study. In general, the strategy and tactics favoured by the combatants, the part played by Irish professional soldiers, and the role of Scots mercenaries, have been discussed. In particular, the greater battles have been given detailed post-mortems. But there is a neglected corner which yet remains to be swept anew. We refer to Lord Brough's[1] campaign of 1597.

As it has an interest of its own, and as the account which text-books give of Brough's general strategy and of the supposed battle at Tyrrellspass is of spurious origin, it may be well to re-examine the evidence. Here it is proposed to review what first sources yield on the question; then to trace to its origin the popular figment in regard to Brough's strategy and Captain Richard Tyrrell's victory in the Midlands.

The account which appears in Curtis is representative:

> Under him (Lord Brough) the war was renewed in May 1597 and a threefold attack on Ulster was planned. O'Neill had two good commanders in the Midlands, Piers Lacy and Captain Tyrrell. In July it was decided that 1. Brough should march from Dublin to Portmore; 2. Clifford, now President of Connaught after Bingham, should march from Boyle against O'Donnell; and 3. Barnewall, son of Lord Trimleston, with a force from the Pale, should march from Mullingar, all three to meet at Ballyshannon. The result was a disaster in three fronts for the English, for O'Donnell repulsed Clifford, Brough was defeated near Benburb by O'Neill, and Barnewall with a thousand men was ambushed at Tyrrellspass in Westmeath by Lacy and his army cut to pieces.[2]

---

[1] Variously spelled Burgh, Borough, Brough; pronounced Bruff.

[2] *A History of Ireland*, 3rd Edit. p. 212.

More commonly Tyrrell is credited with the victory at Tyrrellspass which place is supposed to take its name from the action Tyrrell fought there. Substantially, however, we have above the accepted version of Brough's campaign.[1] Does this chess-board outline of a campaign which brought the prestige of the Irish forces to a new level, stand the test of a strictly historical enquiry?

I

It will be remembered that the cautious O'Neill did not take an open part in the early stages of the war. With the fall of Portmore to his brother Art, however, and with the successful action at Clontibret (1595), he became committed in no uncertain way; from then onward he became increasingly the leader and figure of the Gaelic stand. But neither O'Neill nor his opponents were yet quite prepared, and so a series of negotiations punctuated by unofficial skirmishes on the borders of the Pale, postponed war until Brough came on the scene. The new Lord Deputy was known to be a resolute warrior, who avowed that he would, " God willing, stick to Tyrone, and, if need be, lie on the ground and drink water ten weeks ". By a vigorous campaign against the North he hoped to prevent the spread of disaffection in the other provinces.

As a prelude to larger operations he first sent instructions to Lord Delvin in June 1597 to clear Meath and Westmeath of Captain Tyrrell and the Nugents. By the end of the month Delvin had succeeded in driving Tyrrell back north through Longford, and in restoring order in this sector.[2]

Early in July Brough was on his way to the North with 3,000 foot and 500 horse. He has left us a clear outline of his strategy. There would be a twofold assault on the rebels in Ulster; in the east, Brough himself would relieve Armagh and go on to recover Portmore from O'Neill; in the west, Clifford had orders to debouch into Ulster through the Fords at Ballyshannon. Both would then drive through the heart of the rebel country to meet at Lough Foyle. Here they would receive supplies by sea, and if possible plant a garrison to fetter both O'Neill and O'Donnell. There is no mention of a third attack to be made through the centre, though Brough made provision for the defence of the Pale against a diversionary attack by O'Neill.[3]

---

[1] Ef. general histories e.g. Hayden-Moonan, D'Alton, P. W. Joyce. The standard work on the period, *Bagwell: Ireland Under the Tudors*, makes no mention of the ambush at Tyrrellspass; nor does John O'Donovan in *O. Survey Letters*, or in his edition of *Annals F.M.*, an indication that the legend has gained currency only in recent times.

[2] *Cal. State Papers Ire.* (henceforth *C.S.P.I.*) 1596–97, pp. 315, 325–6, 334.

[3] *Ibid* pp. 334, 342. The measures to be taken at Lough Foyle, Brough said, would depend on the state of his army. Sidney and others before Brough had seen the great possibilities in a garrison stationed at the Foyle. The idea was later carried out under Mountjoy by Dowera, and it paid rich dividends.

The Lord Deputy succeeded in surprising Portmore, but the losses he sustained in attempting to advance northwards forced him to constrict his grand strategy, even before he learnt that Clifford likewise had failed in the west. He decided, therefore, to man Portmore and to build a line of forts to protect the territory lying between the Blackwater and the Pale.[1]

Brough was wise so to adapt himself, for O'Neill had already slipped a strong force down the centre. These commandos levied mostly among the O'Reillys and the MacMahons were in the charge of Tyrrell. The English commander, as we noted, had foreseen such a move. Before going northwards, he had endeavoured to muster the gentry of the Pale to protect their own borders. Dundalk had been appointed as the place of assembly for the army destined for Lough Foyle, and for convenience Brough had summoned to the same centre the ' risings out ' or local defence forces of the Pale. Brough's statement makes it perfectly clear that the Palesmen were not given any part in the offensive planned against Ulster. Their rôle would be merely defensive ; with the Palesmen the Lord Deputy said he would not ' pester his expedition, only serving the occasion with their beeves and carriages, returning the men, after having mustered them, to the guard of the borders of the Pale.'[2] This is an important emendation of the popular view regarding Brough's strategy. Besides, this error is connected with the more fanceful invention regarding the supposed ambush at Tyrrellspass.

The Palesmen were placed under Barnewall (Lord Trimleston) while Loftus and some of the Council were left in Dublin to advise ' and use their best care for the defence of the Pale and the borders thereof '. Now when Tyrrell broke into Leinster Trimleston sent his son, young Barnewall, at the head of the Pale force, to oppose the raiders. The Palesmen had the assistance also of a company of English soldiers from Kells. A hot encounter took place at which Tyrrell was completely victorious. Barnewall was taken prisoner, all the officers and most of the men in the company of regulars were slain while a considerable number of the provincials also fell. The combatants would seem to have been rather evenly matched, though figures given vary widely according to the source from which they are drawn. Thus Sir Henry Wallop's estimate of the Pale force at 200 foot and 40 horse is probably an understatement to palliate the announcement of defeat ; on the other hand, P. O'Sullivan's figure of 1,000 errs in the opposite direction if we bear in mind Brough's difficulty in marshalling 3,500 to assault O'Neill. The most probable estimate would leave Barnewall between 300 and 400 strong ; O'Sullivan tells us that Tyrrell's force numbered 400, a figure that is probably correct.[3]

---

[1] *Ibid.* passim pp. 335–58.

[2] *C.S.P.I.* 1596–97, pp. 332, 342, 364, 367 ; P. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath. Hib. Comp.* III, iii, 9. This work is translated in part : M. J. Byrne. *Ireland under Elizabeth.*

[3] O'Sullivan, *loc. cit.* ; *C.S.P.I.* 1596–1597, pp. 364, 367.

Nowhere is it stated that an ambush took place. The actual engagement was decided by the flight of Barnewall's horse. These overran their own infantry who, thus disordered, were at the mercy of Tyrrell's men. This action on the whole scarcely deserves to be called a battle, and the consequences of the victory were at the most local. Tyrrell did not follow it up, and no serious collapse ensued in North Leinster. The Four Masters have no mention of it, neither has Fynes Moryson, though both Moryson and the Irish Annalists give prominence to Tyrrell's most outstanding achievements. In the State Papers there are but two passing references to the episode; contemporary descriptions of Ireland which discuss the war are all silent on this head; and P. O'Sullivan does little more than give the strength of the opposing forces and the place where they clashed. This writer indeed is the only one to mention the place of the engagement which in his latin transliteration reads Balarriechain. No attempt has yet been made to locate this place; further on, we shall consider the historical and linguistic reasons in favour of Ballyreaghan near Ardagh, Co. Longford. At the moment it is sufficient to point out that the foregoing review of primary sources contains no mention of Tyrrellspass in connection with the campaign of 1597.

II

Far different is the account of the same campaign now current in Irish history text-books. The belief that Brough's strategy involved a three-fold attack on Ulster, and that Tyrrell ambushed young Barnewall south of Mullingar at a place ever after known as Tyrrellspass, was of later origin. The Abbé MacGeoghegan it was who, writing a History of Ireland in French about the middle of the eighteenth century, invented the Tyrrellspass legend with an accompaniment of other obvious errors. Because of the appeal made by MacGeoghegan's picturesque invention, and because the place-name "Tyrrellspass" seemed to corroborate his account of the affair, practically every history text-book has followed this lead. John Mitchel, writing a century after MacGeoghegan, was the first to propound a strategy involving a three-fold attack on Ulster.[1]

It is necessary, first, to examine MacGeoghegan and see how far he has gone astray. This examination will be mainly concerned with his method, so that we are spared quoting in full his detailed imaginative story. The first charge that can be brought against him as a historian is that he cites P. O'Sullivan as his authority, even though O'Sullivan's account differs completely from his narrative. Thus, in a work that quotes its sources throughout we find matter that cannot be referred to any source whatsoever. Among his arbitrary departures from O'Sullivan's narrative is the assertion that the engagement took place at Tyrrellspass. Now

[1] J. MacGeoghegan: *Histoire de l'Irlande*, transl. Kelly, revised New York 1845 pp. 512–13; J. Mitchel, *Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill*, American edition, pp. 121–22.

Balarriechain is the latin form of the name found in O'Sullivan, and any attempt at locating this place must be guided both by fidelity to O'Sullivan's nomenclature and by the strong likelihood, based on history, that the engagement in question was fought near the northern borders of the Pale. The Palesmen would naturally watch the northern exposed parts. Moreover, we already noted that in the weeks preceding Brough's advance Tyrrell had been driven northwards from Meath and Westmeath through Longford by Delvin. *A priori* therefore we look for a place to the north, probably Longford. But the use of *a priori* methods is dangerous and extremely limited in history—unless it be to support a position resting on other valid evidence. We have this evidence in the place-name Balarriechain.

Balarriechain is obviously the latin form of a Gaelic compound name —Baile-an-Riachain. In latin ' nr ' became ' rr ' and the broad vowel of the article gave ' Bala- ', so that the form Balarriechain resulted. Now a survey of the place-names of North Leinster shows that the only place-name closely corresponding to this form is Ballyreaghan near Ardagh. Actually this place is entered in the Ordnance Survey Name Books as ' Baile-an-Riachain ', so that from the onomastic point of view it enjoys the best claim to be the place indicated by O'Sullivan.[1] The historical reasons already adduced in favour of Co. Longford as the most likely locality give added weight to the claims of Ballyreaghan. Further evidence may in the future enable us to determine with greater certainty the location of Balarriechain. In the light of existing evidence Ballyreaghan is the best, if not the only possible rendering of it. What is beyond doubt in any case is that Tyrrellspass has no claim either on historical or onomastic grounds to be the place in question. The Abbé MacGeoghegan selected Tyrrellspass, doubtless, because of the age-long association of the Tyrrells with this place. Similarly, the conjecture that Crickstown is the place indicated can be traced to the fact that the Barnewalls were established there for generations.[2]

Our distrust of MacGeoghegan increases when we find him stating that this ' defile covered with trees has been since called Tirrell's pass '. This explanation of the origin of the name Tyrrellspass, now commonly accepted, is patently false. Tyrrellspass had been the headquarters of the Tyrrell family for centuries prior to this.[3] Their castle commanded

[1] *Op. cit.*, Longford, sub Ardagh (ii), P. 5. *In Inquis, in Officis Rot, Can. Hib. Observ. Repert.* ed. Hardiman II Com.Longford I. Jacob. I, which are near contemporary documents the name is written Ballinarraghan. In *Census of Ireland* circa 1659 edit. S. Pender p. 459 it is spelt Ballinrighan. J. O'Donovan in *O.S. Name Books* gives its anglicised pronunciation as Ballyreaghan ; or, as in Edgworth Co. Map Ballinreaghan. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goidelicum* does not record this name. The Baile Reagain, Co. Louth, entered by Hogan p. 89 is weaker linguistically and more improbable historically than Baile an Riachain.

[2] Crickstown, near the borders of Co. Dublin, is the translation of M. J. Byrne, *Ireland under Elizabeth.* See note on this place by Fr. Paul Walsh, *Irish Book Lover*, May 1940.

[3] Hugh Tirel came to Ireland in 1171 A.D. and became Baron of Castleknock. A branch of the Tyrrells acquired Fertullagh, Co. Westmeath early in the thirteenth century.

the pass through which the road to Athlone was laid, and the place naturally came to be called Tyrrell's Pass, or Pace, or in Irish "Bealach an Tirealaigh". There is abundant evidence to show that this name was in use long before 1597. Thus we find the form 'Terrelspace' in the Fiants of Elizabeth under 1582.[1] Later a list of Lords of the Pale drawn up in 1596 speaks of the barony of Fertullagh as inhabited by the Tyrrels 'of whom Sir John is the chief: his house is called the Pace'.[2] Again under 1598, a year after Tyrrell's victory, the Four Masters have an entry with the name Bealach-an-Tirealaigh (they make no mention of the engagement of 1597); and in 1600 an English officer wrote to Mountjoy, 'I will return through Sir John Tyrrell's Pace . . .'[3]

Local tradition, gleaned at a time when MacGeoghegan's story had not yet become vulgarised, confirms the findings of history as to the explanation of the name Tyrrellspass. Thus T. O'Connor, working for the Ordnance Survey wrote in 1837.—'I exercised every means possible to discover the locality and nature of the pass from which the village Tyrrellspass took its denomination and could collect only this much: that a man named Tyrrell, who erected and occupied a castle . . . , was in the habit of giving passes to persons who paid him some contribution towards the erection of his castle'. Surely, MacGeoghegan's account had it been historical, would have retained a hold where this tradition from the mists of the Norman period survived.[4]

Were it necessary to say more to discredit MacGeoghegan's invention, it might be pointed out that in the same breath he calls Captain Richard Tyrrell the chief of the Tyrrells of Fertullagh, a position really held by Sir John. Again, he says the Palesmen assembled at Mullingar and met with Tyrrell who had 'marched through the whole of Meath without meeting an enemy'. In fact we know they had been assembled at Dundalk. Finally the picturesque details of the ambush cannot be taken seriously.

It could be argued, however, that it is not fair to the Abbé to bring his work before a court of strict historical enquiry. Indeed much that he has written can be explained only by the fact that his work was written for and dedicated to the exiled Irish soldiers of fortune in France. The Abbé obviously intended to stir the spirits of exiled soldiers, as when he described a daring tactical manoeuvre used to trap Barnewall, or introduced the exploits of Tyrrell's lieutenant, O'Connor, who plied his sword so mightily that his swollen hand could not be drawn out of the handle of his sword. The Abbé forgot, however, that he put the sword of a French soldier of the eighteenth century into the hands of an Irish *buanna* in

[1] Fiant 3827, in *Appendix to* 13 *Rep. Dep. Keeper of P. Records*, p. 153.

[2] *Carew Mss.* 1589–1600, p. 192.

[3] *A.F.M.* sub an. 1598; *C.S.P.I.* 1600, p. 120. For further evidence see Moryson *Itinerary* II. i. 90; *Description of Ireland* 1598. edit. E. Hogan, p. 107.

[4] Ordnance Survey Letters, Westmeath, II, pp. 32–33.

1597. More French local colour appears when we are told that at the signal for attack the Irish ' caused the drums and fifes to play Captain Tyrrell's march '. In this way we understand why the Abbé wrote as he did and we judge him leniently. Yet these considerations cannot clear his history of being, what it undoubtedly is in this instance, unreliable.

The wonder is that such an invention should have been so often repeated unquestioningly. The explanation is that MacGeoghegan's narrative did not of course dupe later historians ; but his account relayed at first by uncritical text-books has by force of repetition established itself as authentic Irish history. It has been taken for granted without reference to the source whence it was drawn, a process which was assisted by the fact that MacGeoghegan's work is rare, and by the fact that the name Tyrrellspass is a constant advocate of the legend.[1]

The notion that Brough's strategy involved a three-fold attack on Ulster comes even later than MacGeoghegan's work. The first to put forward this error was John Mitchell, who having adopted fully MacGeoghegan's story concerning Tyrrellspass, devised this strategy as a convenient setting both for the reverses sustained by Brough and Clifford and for the victory gained by Tyrrell in the Midlands. We have seen, however, that Brough himself repeatedly declared his strategy to consist of an assault on both flanks of the Ulster line, while guarding against enemy diversion in the centre. But Mitchell's strategy, and not Brough's has got possession in the text-books. This is so in spite of the fact that many historians point out rightly that the physical features of the Ulster border made attack from the Midlands highly impracticable. The chain of lakes, rivers, hills and bogs running from the Erne to Newry had always restricted armies invading the north to the Dundalk-Newry route in the east, and to the Erne fords in the west. This campaign was no exception. Hence it would be well if history books in future revised the current version of the Irish successes in 1597.

M. Ó Báille

[1] Notice, for instance, how such a careful historian as Dr. G. A. Hayes-McCoy in ' Strategy and Tactics in Irish Warfare 1594–1603 ", *Irish Historical Studies*, March 1941, pp. 266, 268, quotes the affair in the Midlands as he finds it described in *C.S.P.I.* to which he refers, and in another context cites ' the action at Tyrrellspass ' without reference, in the belief that he is dealing with two distinct incidents,—whereas ' the action at Tyrrellspass ' is but MacGeoghegan's arbitrary version of the affair in the Midlands.

REVIEWS

ENTHUSIASM: A chapter in the history of religion. By R. A. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1950. pp. vi, 622. 30s. net.

I REMEMBER being overcome many years ago by an uncontrollable gust of laughter when a fellow under-graduate who had just read *A Spiritual Aeneid* remarked to me that he was amazed that a man of R. A. Knox's intelligence should condemn himself, by joining the Catholic Church, to abdicating his reason for the rest of his life.

It is a happy coincidence that in the same year in which Mgr. Knox's latest (far, we hope, from his last) book, *Enthusiasm*, appears, there should also be made available a new edition of *A Spiritual Aeneid*, the absorbing account of his conversion. The new edition carries a preface, written thirty-three years later, in which Mgr. Knox puts himself the question, "Did the Church of Rome come up to your expectations?" He gives the characteristic answer, "No: thank God it didn't, because I was expecting the wrong things." He concludes the preface by making his own the well-known sentence that Maurice Baring wrote in *The Puppet-Show of Memory*: "I was received into the Catholic Church . . . . the only action in my life which I am quite certain I have never regretted."

From the far-off days of *A Spiritual Aeneid* down to his great version of the Bible, there has flowed from Mgr. Knox's pen and tongue a blessed stream of thought, grave and gay, in books, sermons, retreats, essays, panegyrics, broadcasts, detective stories, and *extravaganzas*, which place all his readers, Catholic or not, everlastingly in his debt. They are written often with a distinction of style and an earnestness of purpose that make him for this century what Newman was to the last; and no less often with a delicious sense of fun and kindly delicacy of satire that Newman could never reach, and which inspired his beloved friend G. K. Chesterton to write the happy lines:—

> Mary of Holyrood may smile indeed,
> Knowing what grim historic shade it shocks,
> To see wit, laughter, and the Popish creed
> Cluster and sparkle in the name of Knox.

Anyone who has dabbled in the difficult craft of writing knows that the author of such a vast output of first-class work must have lived laborious days. One could therefore be pardoned for being sceptical if told that all the time, behind the varied scenes of his activities, Mgr. Knox was preparing "the" book. But the miracle has been wrought. *Enthusiasm*, which he clearly considers his *opus magnum*, is the answer.

He has been preparing it, he tells us in the dedication to Evelyn Waugh, for over thirty years, between tasks, mastering his authorities in buses, between trains, over solitary meals, or in half-hours snatched in libraries. Considering the mode of its composition, he fears it may be something of a hotch-potch. But no student of Knox needs to be assured that anything to which he has given so much time and thought will indeed be a jewel among books; and our confidence is richly rewarded in turning the pages of *Enthusiasm*.

Enthusiasm is a study of what the author elsewhere, and perhaps more happily, terms "ultra-supernaturalism." The traditional teaching of the Church is that grace perfects nature. For the "enthusiast," grace replaces nature; and the

" enthusiast " consequently decries the use of human reason and the guidance of authority, claiming that he enjoys a direct indication of the Divine Will at every turn.

It is, I think, a pity that Mgr. Knox did not decide to draw a little more meticulously the distinctions between mysticism, illuminism, and enthusiasm—an oversight which leads to some confusion. The term " enthusiasm " is not common coin in Catholic theology : it would have bewildered St. Paul of the Cross or St. Francis de Sales. It is essentially an eighteenth century English word in the sense in which Mgr. Knox uses it, and indicates a hysterical, emotional approach familiar to us in the phenomena of revivalism. Nevertheless, if we try as he has tried, to find an *omnibus* term to include all that he discusses, we shall find it difficult to improve on it.

To study this type of aberration throughout Church history is the purpose of *Enthusiasm*. Not that the author attempts a complete survey. He begins with the Corinth of St. Paul's day ; and finds in the Christian community there the first hints of Rigorism and Antinomianism. There follow fine chapters on Montanism, with special reference to Tertullian ; and on Donatism and the Circumcellions. He pursues these tendencies through the under-world of the Middle Ages, the Albigenses, Cathari, Petrobusians, Waldenses, and all the labyrinth of sects through which mediaeval heresy winds its dark ways. The treatment in this section is rather summary. It aims at underlining the recurring similarities—the claim to direct Illumination, the irrelevance of the moral law to the Illuminated, the rejection of the unworthy minister, and the revolt from intellect. He shows the continuity of these trends through the Anabaptists, pointing out on his way how Luther, in persecuting them, is a traitor to his own principles, for had Luther been consistent he would have supported the privately judging enthusiasts instead of handing them over to the ecclesiastical authority of the temporal power.

After a fascinating chapter on Quakerism, we come to a magnificent series of chapters on Jansenism, Quietism, the French Prophets, and the Convulsionaries of St. Médard, chapters which alone would make the book memorable. No finer study of seventeenth and eighteenth century religious aberrations in France exists. Even the great Brémond cannot rival it ; indeed Brémond comes in for some very searching criticisms at Mgr. Knox's hands. The book closes with a study of the Moravian tradition, and with a study modestly entitled " A Profile of John Wesley " which is in fact a superb full-length portrait.

The death of John Wesley is the author's *terminus ad quem*. He adds only a few *vignettes* from the nineteenth century and our own in order to show that " enthusiasm," or to use the term more familiar to us, " revivalism," is still active. His readers may regret that he did not expand on the " Oxford " Group, but he has already dealt with it in a memorable C.T.S.E. pamphlet.

This survey of the plan of the book cannot of course convey any conception of the wealth of the treatment, historical, theological, and psychological, especially of the great central chapters ; but it will suggest how difficult a book it is to review.

The book has two main aims : first, to show that anyone who attempts to distinguish the Christianity of Christ from the Christianity of His Church must end by substituting for the revelation of Christ a revelation of his own ; and, second, that there is no limit to the excesses that may accompany the conviction that one is divinely inspired.

How well both points have been made ! Every page makes it clear that in the secular conflict between the charismatic and the institutional our only light-house is authority ; and thus after thirty-three years' incessant study of the problem, Mgr. Knox returns to the point he made so well, but from the narrower viewpoint of Anglicanism, in *A Spiritual Aeneid*.

The second point is equally well illustrated. " Sir," said Bishop Butler to John Wesley, " the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing " ; and every chapter describes the horrors, from the atrocities of the Circumcellions, the obscenities of the Cathari, the ghastly dances of the Convulsionaries, to the ridiculous glossolalies of the French Prophets and the Irvingites.

It goes without saying that anyone interested in the subject will disagree here and there with points of emphasis. " I shall be blamed," writes Mgr. Knox (p. vi), forestalling the criticism, " for not defending Pascal more, or Nayler less " ; and indeed he could not go on for ever revising his estimates.

Nevertheless, has he not been betrayed by his interest into an irrelevance, in devoting too much detail to the long account of the personalities and events of Port Royal? The later phenomena of Jansenism are indeed pertinent to the subject of enthusiasm, but surely not the earlier phase. Indeed the author himself writes (p. 207) : " Port Royal was never illuminist." And yet it is such an absorbing subject, Mgr. Knox knows it so well, and writes about with such a fascinating flow, that we gladly overlook the lack of proportion.

It is also questionable whether it was necessary to be so exercised as he is about the precise nature and date of John Wesley's " conversion," a topic he pursues over nearly fifty pages.

But these are matters of individual preference, and will not detract from any reader's gratitude. What to single out for deepest appreciation is again a matter of personal interest. I will content myself by saying that the chapters on Quietism are unsurpassed in any writer known to me. Mgr. Knox's view that Quietism, at least the Quietism of Madame Guyon, is a deliberate rejection of the mystical tradition, inasmuch as it rejects not only Illuminism, but also the Illuminative Way, is a view very different from the usually accepted view of Brémond ; but it is argued with a wealth of cogent evidence and expository power.

Let me turn to the easier task of weighing the style and temper of the book. No student of Mgr. Knox will be surprised to hear that in this, the great work of his life, he manifests every facet of his mastery, from profundity to sparkle.

Often we find ourselves chuckling over a typical Knoxian sally. On the shock felt in the Church of the second century, when its great apologist, Tertullian, lapsed into Montanism, he writes : " It was as if Newman had joined the Salvation Army." About St. Cyran, he remarks : " Never was a convent eaten up, as Port Royal was, with the tendency to canonize the late chaplain." Molinos' patronising approval of meditation was as " if Paderewski had told you that he approved of doing five-finger exercises." Or of Wesley : " he had the mind of a Jesuit with the morals of a Jansenist."

Incidentally one might gather the impression at times that Mgr. Knox is a little more critical of the enthusiast women than of the men. He discovers, as early as Montanism, the forerunners of the innumerable *dévotes* and *voyantes* to whom he introduces us on his way, and of those great ladies who are determined that their prophet shall be *the* prophet, and who are repaid with suave flattery and all the delightful bustle of intrigue. " *Les hommes font les hérésies,*" he quotes approvingly from Père D' Avrigny, " *les femmes leur donnent cours et les rendent immortelles.*" But when we think of Priscilla and Maximilla, of Antoinette Bourignon, and Selina Countess of Huntingdon, we begin to sympathise with the author's strictures. He is particularly devastating on Madame Guyon. " Take her at her own estimate," he writes, adding that " there are three volumes of it " ; and he shows, on unimpeachable evidence, that she was a garrulous, hysterical and insufferable *poseuse*—a very welcome corrective to Brémond's misleading picture.

For the rest, we move throughout these pages in a world of profound theological and psychological insight, expressed in a flexible, nervous and often beautiful prose, as, to take one instance out of hundreds, in the fine pages on Bossuet and Fénélon.

The concluding words are full of the humanity and understanding of the author : " more than all the other Christianities, the Catholic Church is institutional. Her enemies too easily conclude that she is thereby incapacitated from all spiritual initiative, David in Saul's armour. History makes short work of the conclusion. New things as well as old she keeps in her treasurehouse : you will find current coin there, not only obsolete doubloons. But there is a danger in her position none the less ; where wealth abounds it is easy to mistake shadow for substance ; the fires of spirituality may burn low, and we go on unconscious, dazzled by the glare of tinsel suns. How nearly we thought we could do without St. Francis, without St. Ignatius ! Men will not live without vision : that moral we do well to carry away with us from contemplating, in so many strange forms, the record of the visionaries."

Thus the merciless critic of " enthusiasm " ends his book by recalling a haunting echo from *La Princesse Lointaine* :—

(Trophime)

L' inertie est la seule vice, Mâitre Erasme,
Et la seule vertu est . . . .

(Erasme)

Quoi ?

(Trophime) *L'enthusiasme* !

A. H. Ryan

Vision of Greatness

GLAUCON. An Inquiry into the Aims of Education. By M. V. C. Jeffreys, Professor of Education in the University of Birmingham. London : Pitman. 1950. Pp. 173. 12s. 6d.

It has become almost a platitude to say that the world today is a place where men are preoccupied with the perfection of techniques, of means, and neglect almost entirely the question of ultimate ends. The bus must have comfortable (or " functional ") seats, it must be well-sprung and air-conditioned—but it doesn't much matter where it is going. Honest and well-meaning men are evolving the " planned society " in order to ensure a more equitable distribution of material goods, to guard against the ill-effects of sickness and old-age, to help their fellow-men to lead the " full life ". And yet, oddly enough, it doesn't seem to work out towards the full life. More men, it is true, are better off materially than they were before, there is less poverty and unemployment. Yet " never has man been more lonely than among the crowded populations of industrial cities ; never so bewildered as amidst the tremendous achievements of science " (p. 52). And we think of the words : Not on bread alone . . . .

This confusion of means and ends, this insistence on the perfecting of techniques, is very apparent in questions of education. It is all but impossible nowadays to keep up with the latest developments in educational research. A vast amount of valuable work has been done in recent years on problems connected with the learning process, with selection for further education, with behaviour patterns. Even though the results are occasionally bewildering, presented as they may be in the intimidating tables of the statistician, nevertheless they represent much positive good. And still, in spite of them there is a definite sense of uneasiness, of malaise. " This is

all very well," one feels inclined to say " but why, with all these improvements, are our children not appreciably better behaved than those of fifty years ago? We hear a lot about ' educating for life, for the community ', and yet . . . ? "

That is the problem that Professor Jeffreys faces in this book. He begins from a definition of the general aim of education: the full and balanced development of persons or, as he prefers to state it, nurture of personal growth. He then goes on to analyze this aim from a two-fold point of view, the purely natural or humanist one and the supernatural, the Christian aspect. In fact the division is not watertight. The first section, for all his efforts to take no cognisance of the body of revelation, could have been written only by a Christian. Nevertheless, he shows that there is no satisfactory answer to the questions he raises if man is merely man. It is only when man's final end in God is kept clear that all the problems achieve a complete solution.

' Personal growth ' involves a two-fold aspect: the development of the person as an independent, autonomous being, and his development as an individual, as a member of a community. Both forms of growth are necessary, but because they imply, respectively, fulfilment of self and the service of the common good, a tension is set up. The resolving of this tension is the central problem of social life. Having shown that to solve the problem either by way of elevating the self or by way of elevating the community to an exclusive position leads to disastrous results, the author arrives at the conclusion that the only way lies in finding a principle that reconciles freedom and service—in finding, that is, a service that is perfect freedom. And so we are lead to the principle of ' redemptive love ', of our being laid hold of, being claimed, being ' redeemed ' by something or someone other than ourselves whom we can love and serve freely.

In an analysis of the contemporary world in the light of this principle the author seeks the special aim for our education. It is in what he calls the ' depersonalizing of human relations ', the undermining of personal values that he sees the gravest danger to our civilisation. Paradoxically, this lowering of the value set on the person is the result, not so much of the rule of the machine in industry as of that very exaltation of the person which began at the Reformation with the emancipation of man from the old authorities. Correspondingly, education neglects the person and concentrates on the individual. It is more and more taken up with techniques in learning and less and less with why a child should learn. Even where its avowed aim is to resolve the tension between the person and the community (as in the various types of ' education for citizenship ' programmes) the absence of belief in values which transcend both person and community renders its efforts useless.

And so he comes to the conclusion that such a belief, a faith, a ' Vision of Greatness ', a dedication of oneself to something outside one is the most important aim in education. He discusses other elements: a closer relation between the content of education and the world round about us, for example. This does not necessarily mean ' contemporaneity ' in the choice of subjects, but rather relevance; and he quotes Professor Whitehead: " The only use of a knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present ". Nevertheless the ' vision of greatness ' (and the faith which he hopes may " grow " from it) is the only force which can bind together again the disrupted elements of society, the only cornerstone which " makes both one ".

So far, the author has dealt with the problem from the purely natural aspect. In the second and shorter part of the book he shows how the tentative solutions of the first part find their only satisfying, because ultimate, solution in the claims of Christ. The dogma of human self-sufficiency has led to modern man gaining the

world and losing his soul—and even the 'gaining' is becoming more and more problematic. The Christian doctrine of fellowship with Christ, of childhood in God the Father, coupled with the doctrine of fallen and redeemed man gives the triumphant answer to the problems of person and community. Instead of the redeeming power of the nebulous 'vision of greatness' we answer with Paul: "He loved me and delivered himself for me", and with John: "If God hath so loved us, we also ought to love one another". The inviolable character of the human personality as well as the claims of the community are here fully reconciled. The sorry parade in history of men failing again and again to do what they know to be right is seen in its true and only truly consoling perspective in the light of the doctrine of original sin.

The Catholic reader will find a number of points in this book with which he must disagree on grounds of doctrine and even on historical grounds. Professor Jeffreys does not, for instance, face up to the full implications of "The objective of Christian education can be nothing less than to win our generation to the Christian faith" (p. 157). And such statements as "At the heart of the school life must be worship. What form the regular acts of worship should take and where they should be held is very much a matter of opinion and circumstance" (p. 162) sound oddly in view of the undenominational school system in England. Such points of difference are, of course, far from trivial. Still, with its limitations, this is an excellent book. It might have been a dull and ponderous work, but it is not. For all the urgency of its theme it is quiet and clear and modest. Above all (and this should win it a place in the esteem of those whose fate it is to have to read modern educational writings) the author is not afraid to let his sense of humour have an odd fling. It is comparatively rare to meet a book on such a topic beginning: "It is good for teachers to remember that parents brought up their children in the life of the tribe long before schools and schoolmasters were thought of, and for professors of education to acknowledge that they are a recent excrescence on the educational structure".

SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN

HAGIOGRAPHY

LE TREFONDS ORIENTAL DE L'HAGIOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE. Par Paul Peeters, S.J., Bollandiste. (Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 26). Brussels: 1950. Fr. b. 125.

Father Paul Peeters was for almost fifty years a colleague of the late Father Hippolyte Delehaye. Between them these two scholars gave new life and inspiration to a tradition of hagiographical studies that stretches back, through Bollandus himself, to the publication of Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum* in 1616. Of the two Father Delehaye had the wider reputation, largely owing to his immense vigour and continuous literary output in a field which interested many who were not professional scholars. Father Peeters, even as a young man, made deliberate choice of a career which was bound to isolate him from many Western scholars. Father Delehaye was a specialist in Byzantine as well as in Latin hagiography; his colleague acquired an almost legendary reputation for learning in such remote fields as Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian Christian literatures. In the current (1951) number of *Analecta Bollandiana* Father Paul Devos, who has been trained to succeed Father Peeters in this field of work, pays tribute to his master who died on 18 August 1950. A few weeks before that date the Bollandist Fathers, with a small group of intimate friends and fellow-workers, had met to celebrate the eightieth birthday of their

senior member ; and they were able to offer him two substantial volume of *Mélanges* which a large number of scholars from many countries had compiled in his honour. Death came peacefully in mid-summer ; and those of us who have kindly memories of the days when the two famous Bollandists gave a generous welcome to all who sought their advice and encouragement can only offer their sympathy and good wishes to the younger colleagues who remain to carry forward the work of three long centuries.

Father Peeters lived as a Bollandist through two world-wars. They were not pleasant years for one who was a believer in the cause of Belgian independence. Towards the end of the second world war (May 1943) he was invited by the Collège de France to give a course of lectures in Paris. The invitation came at a time when both Paris and Brussels were under German occupation ; and in his preface to the published edition of these lectures Father Peeters modestly suggests that the interest awakened by what he had to say on the eastern character of so many Byzantine " Lives of Saints " was due mainly to the lack of any other rival intellectual stimulus. There is no need for any such apology or explanation. The six lectures printed here in a slightly expanded form are full of suggestive indications in a field where even the most widely read historian must be grateful for expert guidance. For the purpose of these lectures " The East " means mainly Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Armenia. In each of these countries Father Peeters finds clear proof of a vigorous native culture and tradition which is often disguised by its Greek literary form, but which must be recognised as an influence which in its essence is anything but Greek.

The Armenian and Coptic literatures bear witness to this non-Greek element in languages which are frankly " Oriental ". The former view that Christian Coptic literature was heretical in its origin, and that it could be largely neglected as a witness to the orthodox Christian tradition of the first centuries, has been refuted by a series of modern discoveries ; and here Father Peeters had the happiness of finding a gifted fellow-worker and friend in M. L.-Th. Lefort. It is now quite clear that a large number of Christians in Egypt during the fourth century could not read the Greek of their patriarch Saint Athanasius, and that a Coptic version of his encyclical letters was issued for their instruction. So too there were Coptic *Lives* of Saint Pachomius and other founders of the monastic tradition in Egypt ; and Father Peeters takes the legend of Saint Menas as a typical instance of an Egyptian saint whose cult is known to us almost exclusively from Coptic sources.

Armenian Christian history is notable for an extensive and ambitious scheme of translating a whole corpus of Christian literature into the native Armenian tongue. This literary effort was continued for several centuries, and the golden age of the Armenian Church is known as " the Age of the Interpreters ". More than one work of the Greek and Syrian Fathers has come down to us solely in a late, but on the whole trustworthy Armenian translation ; and Father Peeters has added a very learned appendix to his six lectures in which he gathers together stray notes that he had made over long years of reading in obscure texts, all of them indicating the existence of small polyglot communities within the Byzantine Empire, each making its individual contribution to a tradition that was in every sense of the word oecumenical.

Most readers will, I feel sure, agree with me in finding the fifth lecture in this series by far the most instructive, as it is also the most entertaining. Symeon the Stylite is one of the best known names in the history of early Christian asceticism ; but few know more than the bare outlines of the saint's story. The purpose of this masterly lecture is to cut away, by severely scientific criticism, a whole mass of pseudo-Byzantine accretion, and to reveal the saint as he appears in two certainly

authentic documents: a section of the "Philotheos historia" of Theodoret, a Syrian bishop of more than doubtful orthodoxy but of admittedly high literary culture who knew the saint personally at the height of his fame, and who had spoken to Abbot Heliodore under whose jurisdiction the future hermit had lived for some years in the monastic community of Eusebona; and a Syriac "Life" written by the saint's favourite disciple John soon after Symeon's death in 459. Theodoret knew Symeon when he had still some twenty years to go as a lonely witness to his ideal of asceticism on the top of his pillar. John knew him in his last years, was with him when he died and was privileged to receive his last messages on the top of that same pillar. (It was, we are told, forty cubits high, and food was brought to the hermit by one of his disciples once a week, a ladder being set for that purpose.) Quite literally for thirty long years (429–59) the saint had endured the extreme heats of Syrian summers and the bitter colds of Syrian winters, with no other shelter from the winds than his rough leathern cloak, with no more than a bare minimum of food and with no space on which to lie down for rest, by night or day. To us it sounds incredible, but the main facts are attested beyond all possible suspicion by contemporary witnesses. And these exploits of asceticism won the admiration, not only of the excitable citizens of Antioch—who came in their thousands to supplicate the holy man's prayers in 457, when a severe earthquake laid much of their city in ruins—but even of the distant Emperor Leo I in Constantinople, who sent word when news of the saint's death reached him in 459 that the cloak which had covered his worn frame for so long should be brought for veneration to the imperial city.

Here in Ireland we are perhaps too apt to feel apologetic about the astonishing asceticism of so many of our Celtic saints. Do we ever pause to remember that Symeon had been on top of his pillar, in continuous prayer and penance, for three long years before Patrick came to Ireland in 432; and that he remained in prayer and penance on that same pillar for almost the whole period of Patrick's mission in this island? Father Peeters had the opportunity (in 1935) of visiting the great basilica which the monks of Telesin built around the pillar after their saint's death. It did not shelter his body, for that had been carried off by force to Antioch, where the citizens were determined to have the dead hero as their patron and protector; but it included both the famous pillar on which the saint had spent the last thirty years of his life, and one at least of the great stones—two cubits high, as we read in the "Life"—on which he had spent some five years of preliminary penance before mounting to his final resting place. Thirty-five years of eremitical asceticism which cannot easily be matched in the annals of Celtic austerity! Yet they are certainly authentic, and they won the enthusiastic veneration of Antioch and Constantinople. Set against the background of contemporary Christian tradition, our Irish saints seem less remote from human experience. That is one of the many lessons which I bring away from reading these lectures of a scholar who was familiar with so many curious and remote texts of early Christian hagiography.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE LIFE OF AILRED OF RIEVAULX. By Walter Daniel. Edited by F. M. Powicke. London: Nelson. 1950. cii + 169. 15s. net.

If one must have a date for the rebirth of civilisation in the west then the year 1000 is as good as any, but it is not until the early twelfth century that one can speak of 'renaissance' with real justification. In architecture, in law, in administration, in philosophy, the vigour of the new life is becoming too obvious to be ignored

but in the first half of the century it is the monastic revival which takes pride of place—and above all, the Cistercians. Within a few years of Bernard joining the community at Citeaux, Cistercian houses were being founded all over western Europe and all kinds and conditions of men, literate and illiterate, noble and base-born were flocking to live as monks or as laybrothers under the rule of St. Benedict, now interpreted with a new vigour. The Cistercian reformation reached England for the first time in 1128 with the foundation in Surrey of Waverley, but the true counterpart of the wilderness of Citeaux was to be found not in the comparatively civilized south but at Rievaulx or Fountains in the north, which since the ravages of the Danish invasions had remained remote and unpopulated. And so in 1132 in a valley thirty miles north of York the Cistercians settled. Rievaulx was a lonely spot but a pleasant one. Walter Daniel describes the situation with enthusiasm. " High hills surround the valley encircling it like a crown. These are clothed by trees of various sorts and maintain in pleasant retreats the privacy of the vale, providing for the monks a second paradise of wooded delight. From the loftiest rocks the waters wind and tumble down to the valley below and . . . . give out a gentle murmur of soft sound and join together in sweet notes of delicious melody."

The early history of this monastery reflects in little the history of the Cistercians as a whole. Its growth was rapid ; within fifteen years it had founded or adopted several daughter houses ; and in its third abbot, Ailred, it had its Bernard. In 1134 when Ailred became a novice, the community was very small ; at his death it numbered six hundred and fifty. Like Bernard he was able to attract all types of men to him ; " all (he said), strong and weak alike should find in Rievaulx a haven of peace, a spacious and a calm home." Time has not diminished the attractiveness of Ailred's character ; it has indeed been increased by the spirit of romance which today " reigns in the place where Ailred taught and waves its magic wand over the ruins of Rievaulx." It is not surprising therefore that eminent medievalists have been unable to resist him, among them Sir Maurice Powicke who here presents the fruit of long interest in Ailred. In 1922 he edited most of Walter Daniel's life of Ailred with a long introduction and it is this which forms the basis of the present work. The introduction has been revised and enlarged and the whole of the *Life* is printed with translation.

It must not be pretended however that Walter Daniel is the perfect biographer for such a man as Ailred. In many ways he is a typical medieval hagiographer, far more concerned to demonstrate his master's sanctity by the miracles which he performed than to sketch Ailred's character for us. We learn for example that as a young man Ailred extinguished a fire which broke out in the hospice by throwing a glass of English beer on the flames ; we are duly impressed. We learn also that Ailred cured an unfortunate young man who had swallowed a little frog one day and was now suffering from its excessive growth within ; we might have been impressed with this had not an Irish medieval scholar (Fr. Conor Martin) drawn Sir Maurice's attention to the folk-myth element in the story, as shown for example in the middle-Irish wonder tale, the vision of Mac Conglinne. And so a modern footnote takes the pith out of Walter's story, even though he later on assures us that this event was witnessed " by Robert, our under-porter, a good and excellent man, Henry of Beverley, Baldric the laybrother who has been proved in many things, and almost more persons in Galloway than can be numbered."

Despite the hagiography there is still a good deal of valuable material in Walter's *Life* and it is possible to catch something of how Ailred appeared to his contemporaries. He seems to have had a natural charm and a gentleness which stand out all the more by contrast with the severe asceticism of his personal life. Walter indeed tells of mortifications which recall those of the early Irish monks. " I should not omit to tell " he writes, " how he had built a small chamber of brick under the floor of the novice house, like a little tank, into which water flowed from hidden

rills. Its opening was shut by a very broad stone in such a way that nobody would notice it. Ailred would enter this contrivance when he was alone and undisturbed and immerse his whole body in the icy cold water and so quench the heat in himself of every vice." In spite of his rheumatism which must have made agony the innumerable journeyings which every Cistercian abbot had to undertake and which at times made it necessary for him, even in the monastery, to be carried from place to place in a sheet, held by a man at each of its four corners, Ailred retained to the end his serenity; a serenity reflected in his every action, in the peaceful expansion which Rievaulx enjoyed under him and especially in his writings, the *Speculum Caritatis* and *De Spirituali Amicitia*.

Perhaps indeed the best approach to Ailred is through his own works than through Walter Daniel's *Life*, because, though he was first and foremost a saint, he was a humanist as well, able to express his own personality in writing, like his contemporaries St. Bernard or John of Salisbury or Abelard. It may seem paradoxical to class Ailred with Abelard, particularly if one recalls St. Bernard's violent denunciations, but in a sense St. Bernard, like Peter Damien earlier, was denouncing the humanists with their own weapons. The literary renaissance of the twelfth century was having its effect within the cloister as well as without and so it is far more reasonable to set a man like Ailred in the context of his age than set him apart from it. His writings on friendship and charity are the counterpart in the world of the spirit of those secular works on love which are characteristic of the lay culture of the time. As Gilson has pointed out. " La litterature mystique du xii^e^ siècle compléte harmonieusement sa littérature profane et la couronne et elle va bientôt la réformer à son image. Pour qui ne se contente pas de ces tranches d'histoire parallèles . . . toute cette littérature amoreuse en langue française est précédée ou accompagnée d'une abondante spéculation sur l'amour dont les oeuvres s'échelonnent sans interruption depuis le commencement du siècle jusqu'à sa fin et se prolongent à travers les siècles suivants[1]". And so we find the shadow of Cicero's ' *De Amicitia* ' thrown upon the writings of both Ailred and Abelard. If Abelard amid the intellectual ferment of Paris was a humanist, so also was Ailred in the remote monastery at Rievaulx.

Ailred would then be a living figure for us, even if we knew of him from Walter Daniel alone; he is a far more vivid figure than one who may be termed his counterpart among the English Franciscans of the next century—Adam Marsh. This fact helps to suggest that the thirteenth, " greatest of centuries ", was not great in all respects. The achievements of Albert and Thomas and Scotus were outstanding but something was lost in the process—the literary culture of the twelfth century. The personality of Thomas is hidden behind the technical form in which his thoughts were expressed and which made the architecture of the *Summa* possible.

By contrast Ailred and his contemporaries seem much nearer to us. They are humanists of an earlier renaissance, which was perhaps stifled before it came to full maturity. It should come as no surprise to find that Ailred himself provides at least one link with the " Renaissance " proper. Walter Daniel tells us, " His reading was in edifying books whose words are wont to bring tears, and in particular, he generally had in his hands the Confessions of Augustine, for it was these which had been his guide when he was converted from the world." At a time when the City of God was the most popular of Augustine's writings and the Confessions were hardly ever read, it is significant that they were Ailred's favourite reading —and Petrarch's also.

It remains to thank both Sir Maurice Powicke and his publishers, Messrs. Nelson, for making accessible in so well-produced a volume the life of one of the most attractive of English saints and scholars.

HUGH KEARNEY

[1] *La Théologie Mystique de St. Bernard* p.14.

Two English Cardinals

REGINALD POLE, CARDINAL OF ENGLAND. By W. Shenk. London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 1950. pp. 176. 15s. net.

Reginald Pole, the Cardinal of England—the "Angel of England," as his contemporary Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor, called him— has never received the attention of the historian in the measure which his noble character, the leading rôle he played, and the dramatic vicissitudes of his life, might seem to have assured him. The present biography, while little more than a long and scholarly essay, does therefore something to fill a real gap in a historical background, perhaps as well documented as any in the English story. To the necessarily brief summary of Pole's part in the Henrician revolt, which is given in the first volume of Constant's *The Reformation in England*, little of importance is added. Furthermore, Dr. Shenk's treatment of Pole's work in the reign of Queen Mary, when he was for a time legate *a latere* and till the end Archbishop of Canterbury—the last in communion with Rome—is very scanty and adds little to the account given in Fr. Philip Hughes' *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England*. Of the part Pole played in Ireland there is nothing whatever in this book to add to our slender knowledge. It is rather, as might have been expected, the story of the middle period, the second Italian sojourn of Pole, that is here amplified.

A wonderful story it is. It might have been thought that when Pole, in the immortal words of his hero, St. Thomas More, chose to be "the King's good servant but God's first," he had ended his career. The words were, indeed, to echo through his life. His mother paraphrased them in her final exhortation to her eldest son before his execution: "Son Montague," she wrote, "my advice in the case in which you now stand is to endeavour to serve your prince without disobeying God's commandment." And Pole himself was later to address the very nationally-minded prelates of Trent: "I admonish the delegates that they serve their princes with all loyalty and zeal, but as becomes bishops." But for the moment Pole's career seemed ended. He had gone to the famous interview with Henry VIII in the private gallery of York House with a hopeful plan for the "King's Affair," only to forget it in a sudden impulse to make one urgent personal appeal to the King's conscience, an appeal rejected by Henry with frowning anger and an ominous plucking at his dagger. Pole had then fled unheroically, before the brooding cruelty that was the King's morbid characteristic, could fall on him. The King pursued him, not only with assassins—and there were plenty of these even openly acknowledged—but with importunities and scourges. When his *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*, refuting the doctrine of Royal Supremacy was despatched to the man he had idealized and loved, Pole knew what to expect. He had pondered in agony on the death of More. Now he was to see his brother and cousin basely betrayed by a younger brother (twice pardoned by man and God), and, finally, after two long years of imprisonment, the execution of his mother, Blessed Margaret of Salisbury, "the saintliest woman in my Realm," as the King himself had called her. She was beheaded in circumstances of horrible barbarity, not related in the present biography. "I thought of being the son of one of the best and most honoured ladies in England," was Pole's comment. Now God "has wished to honour me still more by making me the son of a martyr." An hour's solitary prayer, and he could again show his friends a serene countenance; but, as he wrote to Edward VI: "Your father ploughed me with a heavy plough-share." Henry's generosity had made his youthful fortunes. His cruelty, as Pole himself admitted, now made him the mature man.

This was the man who was to be Vitorria Colonna's last and true spiritual guide, who was to receive the friendship, the poetry and the art of Michael Angelo, who was to share in the dreams and plans of the best of the reforming prelates, who was to preside at the first session of the Council of Trent, to refuse the Papacy when it lay in his grasp, and to preserve amid a multitude of business and every temptation to worldliness, a spirit not only pure but tender, a mind not only profound but compassionate, and a very genius for the fellowship and formation of good men. In this book we see the scholar, who fell under the dubious influences of the humanist Bembo, aiding Sadoleto to recover his balance. We see one of the joint-authors of the memorable *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* translate it into laws, passing, at a National Synod of England, before Trent had decreed them, those same reforming canons on residence and seminaries and preaching, which could have given new life to the Church in England. Despite a too frequent and confident " no doubt " and " it may be assumed," all this is accurately and succinctly told.

Dr. Shenk has perhaps tended to underrate Pole's character. Possibly under the influence of Fr. Hughes, he sees him as something of a Hamlet, one who, at times at least, yielded to a temperamental, if weak, inaction. It is easy to exaggerate this element in his make-up. It is strange that he admired beyond all others two men so utterly and violently devoid of any introversion, Henry VIII and Paul IV. But he came also as we might say, to see through them, and for himself gave up all egoism to wait on God's call. But he was never disillusioned, never lost hope.

Again we may put aside the publishers' claim that it is, in a special way, " an essay on civilization." It is no more in this respect than the good biography of any great and civilized man must be. It is much more truly and valuably an essay on the text so apt to-day : " Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's ; and to God, the things that are God's." (Mat. 22, 21). But in a closing summary the author endeavours to distinguish between a true Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Of the first, Pole, Contarini and Giberti are hailed as pioneers. Of the second, Paul IV, whose violence he rightly declares to border on insanity, is for him the type. The difference is in their attitude to humanism. He is not content with giving the little group of friends a priority of action, based on the statement that the Jesuits did not begin their work till 1540, though their vows were taken in 1534. They were in Rome as a body and had won the approval of Pope Paul III in the first years of his pontificate, before either Contarini or Pole were cardinals and before the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* was published. But while admitting that the Jesuits had some interest in the humanities, he groups them roughly with the school of fanatics, of whom Paul IV was the leader. This does less than justice to a friend of Pole, who, though he gets no mention in these pages, may well have had a major influence upon him. During the years in which perhaps least is known of the Cardinal, but which appear to have been crucial, when his character deepened and set, Pole was constantly in Venice, and lived there for a time. So did, of course, his friend, the noble Pietro Contarini. So, during the same period for eighteen months together, did an ardent Spaniard, Inigo de Loyola, the friend of Contarini and later at least, as his letters show, the friend and grateful client of Pole. All three met Gian Pietro Caraffa, then busy with the foundation of the Theatines. Pole became his ardent admirer. It was Pole who in Pope Paul III's reign, on the night before a consistory, defended Caraffa on his knees, and altering the Pope's decision, gained for him the red hat. Contarini and Giberti shared Pole's opinion of Caraffa. Paul IV never requited their devotion. The Inquisition which he organized wrote Pole down simply as " a heretic," even before he dared to say so openly. He did say it openly at a critical moment in the Conclave that wanted one vote to make Pole pope. Though he withdrew the charge, his voice and vote were against Pole. Caraffa

asked St. Ignatius to join forces with him. He begged him, perhaps sincerely, for spiritual advice. To the first request the Saint replied with a firm refusal and a rather suprisingly pessimistic forecast of the Theatines, Paul's creation. The spiritual advice he was inexperienced enough to give. From that day he had an open personal enemy. When Caraffa was made Cardinal, Ignatius put off his own journey to Rome; and when he heard of Caraffa's election to the Papacy, he said quite candidly that all his bones turned to water. Yet, like Pole, he reverenced and served the Vicar of Christ, irrespective of the man who held the office. To Ignatius it was given, as it was scarcely given to his friend Pole, to see their work against the so-called Reformers, the Counter-Reformation, bear lasting fruit.

One more point calls for comment. Dr. Shenk says, but gives no authority for his statement, that in 1553 Pole had no thought of marrying Queen Mary. He admits that the idea was still in Mary's mind and obsessed the mind of the Emperor. The policy had been long since mooted, and was a dream of Chapuys and Catherine of Aragon. The only evidence Thomas Cromwell could collect against Blessed Margaret was a vestment found in a chest of hers with interwoven " garlands " of Pole's pansy and Mary's marigold and the Five Wounds symbol of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Western Rebels had demanded that Pole be given his rightful place in the Government, saying that, as he was so near the Royal blood, " he ought to be the first or second person in the King's Council." Pole did not approve of the Spanish royal marriage, and opposed it with all his wisdom and eloquence. Only two English candidates were available, Pole's cousin Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, a worthless young profligate like Darnley, and Pole himself. Mary does not appear to have considered Courtenay, nor was he suggested by Pole. With no desire to make a romance about the alliance of two friends who were faithful to each other from youth until their death on the same day, Pole's hesitation to take priestly orders—he received them only two days before his consecration at Canterbury—may have been due, not, as Dr. Shenk thinks, to any fear of this yoke, but to the possibility of his marriage with Queen Mary. After the death of Edward VI and his appointment as Legate, Pole strongly desired to return to England. The delay of over a year caused by Charles V. would almost certainly have been shortened to a few days, if Pole had been ordained priest. Without attributing to him any motives of personal ambition, we may doubt if Pole was willing to shut the door on a long-cherished and perhaps not unattractive plan—a last and best union of the White and Red Roses in the service of England, the Church of Rome, and God.

M. BODKIN

CARDINAL WISEMAN. By Denis Gwynn. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1950. 15s.

As Wilfrid Ward's volumes have long been out of print, and considerable material has since been published which suggests a modification of Ward's view, Dr. Gwynn's biography of Cardinal Wiseman is extremely welcome. The present book is a new edition of an earlier biography, re-written in the light of the author's extensive studies in English nineteenth century Church history, and presented in a simple, unpretentious manner which marks the book out as suitable for the general reading public no less than for those who seek a specialized knowledge of this period.

Wiseman wrote in a letter to Ambrose Phillips, " I have long said it to those about me—that if the Oxford Divines entered the Church, we must be ready to fall into the shade and take up our position in the background. I will gladly say to them ' me oportet minui.' " What Wiseman foresaw has indeed come to pass, for he has largely been forgotten in comparison with the other leaders of the Catholic revival;

e has been elbowed off the stage by Newman's brilliance and depth, and by the asterful resource of Manning. And yet Abbot Butler regarded him as the foremost nglish Churchman of the nineteenth century. Dr. Gwynn's book will do much to dress the balance in Wiseman's favour. This Life is a splendidly integrated picture, which Dr. Gwynn's sense of proportion and intimate knowledge of the Second pring form a careful, yet unobtrusive, background against which the character of icholas Wiseman stands out boldly and generously displayed.

His upbringing and Roman training gave him a cosmopolitan outlook hich was bound to lead Wiseman into frequent, and sometimes serious, clashes ith the insular and timidly conservative tradition fostered in the English Church y penal laws. His loyal support of the Tractarians, and his impulsive generosity them after their surrender to Rome, made the old English Catholics stand aloof, hile his friendship with O'Connell, Montalembert and Lacordaire was taken as a savowal of conservatism and tradition. Wiseman's zeal and ability as an apologist as offset by his sad limitations as an administrator. This was first made clear hile he was at once President of Oscott and co-adjutor Bishop in the Midland istrict, for while discipline languished, the College became a centre from which iseman travelled the country, appearing on countless lecture platforms, pushing ead his sanguine schemes for the conversion of England. Lord Acton, in retro- ect, wrote to Ward, " we had a feeling that Oscott, next to Pekin, was a centre of e world."

When the English Hierarchy was re-established, Wiseman's prestige in Rome sured him of being its leader. The furore which followed upon his pastoral, From out the Flaminian Gate of Rome,' threatened to take on the nature of that ob violence which had so characterised the Gordon Riots, and many Catholics ere of opinion that Wiseman should not attempt to land in England. In this isis, Wiseman, in character and in polemic, rose above anything that his most dent admirers had hoped from him. His public appearances and the superb gnity and cogency of his Appeal to the English People brought reason and good eling into what had hitherto been a singularly distasteful display of sectarian bigotry. he sad misunderstandings and loneliness of his later years are largely traceable to e inroads made upon his energies and judgment by continual ill-health. He felt at among those who surrounded him, only Manning and Herbert Vaughan were usted friends ; and in this he did less than justice to Archbishop Errington, as r. Gwynn is at some pains to show.

It is pleasant for Irish readers to note that Wiseman's last triumph was in eland. An Irishman, he was acclaimed by his own people who could understand d evaluate his temperament more surely than could the cautious English Catholics. is visit was an event of national importance, though it must not be thought that iseman was a great Irishman ; indeed he showed slight understanding of Ireland's fferings during the famine, and had little direct contact with the immigrants, ho settled in his diocese in great numbers.

Dr. Gwynn very rightly stresses the importance of Wiseman's personal character th in its influence on the Oxford group and in the enormous prestige which his rning, his courage and his liberal outlook brought to the Church as a whole. He is a man of whom his fellow Catholics were justifiably proud ; a man whom his otestant foes were finally to respect. Manning fittingly summed up Wiseman's rticular genius, when in his funeral panegyric he said, " We have all lost somewhat hich was our support, our strength, our guidance, our pattern, and our pride. e have lost him who, in the face of this great people, worthily presented the great- ss and the majesty of the Universal Church."

JOHN GANNON

ELIZABETH'S IRISH WARS

ELIZABETH'S IRISH WARS. By Cyril Falls. London: Methuen. 1950. 25s.

THE warfare in Ireland which continued throughout the greater part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and which culminated in the Spanish landing in Munster and the siege and battle of Kinsale was decisive in one vital respect. A contemporary writer who described the later phases of it thought it appropriate to call his book *Pacata Hibernia,* believing that the Queen's victory had brought peace to Ireland—the peace of the conqueror and the conquered. But the débâcle at Kinsale did not dispose of what the English, in much later moments of pessimism, saw fit to call the Irish Question. The warfare of the sixteenth century was not after all, decisive in that respect. What was decided was very cogently stated by the author of the book under review writing in *The Illustrated London News* of 19th November 1949. In that place Professor Falls said: "Kinsale was in a sense the end of a civilization as well as of a revolt. Eire is to-day a free and independent republic, but it is only in a limited sense that it can be called a Celtic republic, and there is no Celtic State in the world now. It might have been otherwise if the Irish-Spanish plan had succeeded. I do not say that the England of those days would have tolerated a Celtic kingdom, supported by Spain, on her flank. She would have fought to the last against that. Yet there might conceivably have been some sort of terms which would have allowed the Celtic civilization of Ireland to survive in a purer and more vigorous form, adapting itself to the modern world and perhaps compromising—though compromise is not the most shining Irish virtue—but in the process consolidating itself. It would be absurd to say that this must have happened, but it might have happened. Now there was no longer a chance that it would. In that sense the battle and campaign, decisive in an obvious sense, may have exercised a far profounder influence on the Irish future."

That this was the real issue of the Elizabethan warfare in Ireland few will attempt to gainsay. Subsequent events were to show that it was not a successful war of conquest. But they were to show too that, as a result of it, the old order had been changed with a vengeance, and that whatever other compromises the Irish people might make or refuse to make as time progressed, the great compromise inherent in acceptance of this fact had been forced upon them. Bearing all this in mind, one can see a vein of the deepest prophecy in the Four Masters' comment on Kinsale, that "there was not lost in latter times in one battle in Ireland so much as was lost there."

Elizabeth's Irish Wars is the attempt of a celebrated military commentator and historian to provide what has hitherto been lacking, a connected and reasonably detailed account of this trail of warfare which represented almost the sum total of events in Ireland during "the spacious days of great Elizabeth." Professor Falls is Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford. He is an Irishman, and is a Vice-President of the Military History Society of Ireland. He has an international reputation as a writer on modern military affairs, and an earlier Irish book of his *The Birth of Ulster* is remembered.

His present work is a fair, readable and valuable survey which is clearly destined to take its place among the text books on Irish history. He treats of the fightingmen both Irish and English, and their leaders from Shane O'Neill to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and from Sussex to Mountjoy, of administration, equipment and weapons of marches and battles and invasions. He gives much technical information—without which no story of warfare can be complete, and which our Irish historians have hitherto unfortunately neglected—and he knows how to explain technical matters in simple language. He enlivens the study by some shrewd sketches of

he characters of the chief actors on either side. Nor, in the matter of the personal lement, so often obscured in writings on war, does he neglect to enquire whence he common soldiers came and how they were fed and paid and clothed and treated ›y their leaders. In the passages relating to all that concerns warfare he supersedes 3agwell, whose *Ireland Under the Tudors* has so long been a standard work.

Amid all this matter of so much value which Professor Falls has so ably pre-ented the Irish reader may, however, miss something that he feels entitled to :xpect in a study of this kind. The writer, as is apparent from omissions in his ›ibliography, was largely out of touch with the research work that has been done n Ireland in recent years, and the small volume of native source material that exists was unfamiliar territory to him. It may be that these things explain the deficiency, although the general reader will find it to be one more of atmosphere than anything else. Sad stories of the death of kings were not the only memories that survived from the old Gaelic world to shape—as traditions shape a people—the slow development of a new Irish world. The fact that the Yellow Ford was a victory, and one of many victories in a series almost unbroken until Kinsale, was not and has not been forgotten. It cannot have been without its good effect on the Irish character that if our medieval civilization had to go down before superior power and organization it at least went down fighting. These are things which are scarcely reflected in the book, although they are as much part of the story as the regrets which Professor Falls expresses that Ormond was not made viceroy and that Tirlough Luineach O'Neill was not " nobilitated." If these courses had been taken, he holds, the Gaelic system might have been superseded without a struggle.

What peculiar things may be read into a book like this is shown by a review of it which appeared recently in *The Times Literary Supplement*. The writer of this review knows nothing and cares nothing of the old Gaelic world. To him our sixteenth century warfare is of significance only because it was the prelude of the great plantations of the seventeenth century. The Irish of Tyrone's day were barbarians who were to owe their " towns, institutions, political ideas—the bases of civilization " to the English. He says : " The history of Ireland—however the Irish may dislike such a generalization—is given character and consistency only by the English ascendancy." One would have thought that the last of those who believed that kind of thing had died before Gladstone's time. And it is peculiarly unfair to intersperse such nonsense with errors like the reviewer's description of the Yellow Ford as an " accidental victory " and to associate the result with a conscientious work like that of Professor Falls. That particular reviewer belongs to the school that looks upon every overthrow suffered by English arms—anywhere and at any time—as an accident. It is the particular privilege of the military historian to conduct his enquiries in a sphere far removed from such absurdities.

G. A. Hayes-McCoy

Christian Classics

ST. AUGUSTINE AGAINST THE ACADEMICS. Translated by John J. O'Meara. (Ancient Christian Writers, No. 12).

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT : PASTORAL CARE. Translated by Henry Davis, S.J. (Ancient Christian Writers, No. 11). Westminster, Maryland : The Newman Press. 1950. $3.00 each.

The simultaneous appearance of these two volumes in the series of *Ancient Christian Writers* which we owe to the enterprise and zeal of two Professors of the Catholic University of America, Dr. John Quasten and Dr. Joseph C. Plumpe, is a most welcome reminder of the debt that we shall all soon be owing to Washington. Pro-

fessor John O'Meara, who now holds the chair of Latin in University College, Dublin, has been interested for many years past in the earliest writings of the great Doctor of Grace. With the exception of a book, now lost, *De pulchro et apto*, the series of dialogues which Augustine composed during his period of retreat at Cassiciacum soon after his conversion (386) give us our first authentic view of the future Saint's intellectual development. Scholars dispute as to the correct order in which these dialogues should be placed: the three books of the dialogue *Contra Academicos*, the single book of *De beata vita* and the two books of *De ordine*. Professor O'Meara very wisely abstains from giving a definite answer to a problem which seems to be insoluble. He is content to tabulate the order of these works as propounded by three or four earlier scholars; but he is quite definite—and here I feel sure that he is right—in rejecting the view of the German Ohlmann and the Dutchman Van Haeringen, who (without agreeing with one another) have both sought to treat these dialogues as authentic narratives of dialogues that did in fact take place at Cassiciacum. The question is of more than casual interest, as it is linked very closely with the further question as to how far Augustine's famous account of his conversion, as told by himself many years later in his *Confessions*, can be accepted as correct even in some of its main outlines. That a man's memory of a great moral and intellectual crisis in his own life must inevitably be coloured by the experience of later years is obviously true; but the rejection of the story told in the *Confessions* in favour of a story that has to be reconstructed from a too literal interpretation of these early dialogues is another matter. And there is also the kindred, keenly debated question of Augustine's neo-platonist convictions before and after his conversion. On all these points Professor O'Meara has written a short, but admirably clear and helpful Introduction. His translation gives an English version of the principal, and most probably the first of these dialogues: *Contra Academicos*. Augustine is not a master of the dialogue form, and he wisely abandoned this literary *genre* in all his immense later literary activity. This English translation reads as easily as any version can read of Augustine's complicated, and often difficult style. There are notes at the end of the volume which give some necessary biographical information, and which are often exceedingly helpful as a statement of disputed problems in the interpretation of neo-platonist philosophy. Professor O'Meara has in fact given us a very serviceable volume: his American printers have made the volume a delight to handle.

Father Davis is known to all English-speaking priests as the author of a very helpful textbook of Moral and Pastoral Theology. It is thus appropriate that—at a time when most scholars prefer well-earned leisure to new tasks—he should have given us this English version of St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. More than a thousand years ago Alfred the Great translated this same book for the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon clergy of his day. As compared with Augustine's early dialogues, there is no problem here of literary or historical criticism. In a short Introduction Father Davis places the book in the background of the great Pope's life, and discusses the problem of the sources which Gregory used. Bishop Leander of Seville, to whom the Pope had sent a copy of this book, names an imposing list of Gregory's predecessors in this field of work: Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzus. It seems that the last-named Father of this list is the only author to whom Pope Gregory was actually in debt. His own wide experience and human wisdom are the main source of what is written in his *Pastoral Care*: a book which has never ceased to influence Catholic life, and which Father Davis now brings to a new audience.

AUBREY GWYNN

PASCAL'S PENSEES. By H. F. Stewart, D.D. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1950. 21s. net.

DR. STEWART the distinguished Pascalian scholar had finished this edition of the *Pensées* before his death; and it may be looked on as the gathered harvest of his years of study of the great moralist and apologist. It is not simply a new edition of the *Pensées* with an English translation. It is an arrangement of Pascal's notes in the form Dr. Stewart thinks he would have given them had he been spared to complete his great apology which had been the chief interest of his last years. In pursuit of this purpose Dr. Stewart has drawn on other writings of Pascal, on his prayers and meditations, his notes on the Provincial letters, on style, on grace etc. While the translation is clear and idiomatic, the contrast between the two versions is most striking and shows powerfully what a personal thing is style, and how it is lost in translation. A man reading the smooth correct English translation would feel he was in contact with a powerful and original mind; but he would have no idea that Pascal was perhaps the greatest of modern writers in any language; that he gave to ordinary words and phrases a fire and intensity which transformed them; that his prose has a vivid conciseness, an emotional power which set it apart.

The aim of the book is certainly daring. Pascal had been collecting matter, or rather ideas, for years with a view to a work on apologetics which would bring back to the Faith the freethinkers and libertines of his time. He had jotted these thoughts on any odd bit of paper he had at hand; and he left them at his death in complete disorder. In his work of arranging this *indigesta moles*, Dr. Stewart had before his eyes the notes of a lecture Pascal had delivered to the *messieurs de Port Royal* a few years before his death, which was a sketch or plan of what he proposed to do with the material he had collected. In his attempt to set these notes into a well-knit, coherent pattern Dr. Stewart does not claim that his arrangement is what Pascal would have made, but that it reflects the movement of his mind. But to try to forecast what use Pascal would have made of his material was a hazardous project. What would he have omitted; what would he have added; what adaption, refining manipulation such a genius would have done—who could tell with any probability?

The main lines of his apology are often stated by Pascal: that in himself man is a miserable being; that all his greatness comes from God; that it is only through Christ that he can approach God. On these great themes he has spoken with a depth and power almost unrivalled. No moralist has analysed so profoundly, so mercilessly, with such ironic detachment, the littleness of man—his vanity, his depravity, his restlessness, and inconstancy, his subjection to passion and to the domination of his imagination, his insufficiency. And yet this creature has manifest signs of greatness, in his powers, his reach of mind, his intimations, his desires—a greatness he is incapable of realizing. How feeble and incalculable, how much at the mercy of chance, is his life? What a difference it would have made to the world if Cleopatra's nose were shorter! Was not all Cromwell's domination brought to an end by a grain of sand in his kidney? How much of the misery of the world is due to the fact that so many men cannot sit quietly at their table? This moralist surveys human life not under the steady light of the sun but by a succession of lightening flashes. But in his account of the weakness of man we must make allowance for the Jansenistic views which led him to exaggerate the corruption in human nature caused by original sin.

Man then needs God to help him to realize the greatness that is somewhere in him; and he can know and approach God only through Christ. The second part of the Apology then treats of the part of Christ in human life. On this theme Pascal speaks with a truth, a sublimity which can scarcely be matched in the greatest

saints and doctors. The mystery of Christ, His greatness, His wisdom, His humility, His originality, His challenge to the world, these aspects of the One Mediator are expressed with extraordinary power and reverence.

We cannot know what form Pascal would have given his Apology if he had been spared to finish it. But we may well feel that it would not have been more moving or impressive than the disconnected fragments. The parts are probably greater than the whole.

HUGH KELLY

VERMEER AND GAINSBOROUGH

JAN VERMEER OF DELFT. By Frithjof van Thienan, Ph. D.
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH. By Oliver Millar. London: Longmans. 1950. 10s. 6d. each.

THIS volume on Vermeer is the first to appear in the " Masters of Painting " series, a series which aims at a compromise between the 'specialist' and 'popular' book of art. The former both by its price and its scholarly approach—filled with footnotes and learned discussions on dates and attributions—is often beyond the purse and the intellectual grasp of the ordinary reader; while the latter tends to stress the characteristics of the artist which appeal to sentiment and is over-simplified in critical comment.

Although there now exists a very large bibliography on Vermeer, little if any of it existed before the middle of the last century, for from his death in 1675 until the publication of W. Burge's articles in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* in 1866, Vermeer and his art were practically unknown in Europe. Twenty years after his death, twenty of his best pictures were sold for less than 100 florins apiece, some of them under the names of Metsu, de Hooch and Terborch. But through the publication of the *Beaux Arts* articles, the real worth of Vermeer was recognized and soon his pictures were as eagerly sought for by collectors as were those of Rembrandt. The Rijks Museum paid £40,000 for the " Kitchenmaid " which formerly had been sold for 70 florins.

But large as the bibliography is, it contains very few facts of the painter's life and artistic contacts; very little is known about Vermeer's life. Most of the works deal with the painter's style and attempt to trace artistic influences from the internal evidence of the pictures themselves. Professor Thienan follows the same method. His approach to the subject is scientific and scholarly but written in a simple unaffected style, unencumbered by artistic jargon. There is first a short sketch of the historical and topographical setting in which the painter lived. Then follows an analysis of the pictures taken in chronological order—so far as dates can be attributed—the development of his style is traced and an attempt made to access the influence of other painters on his work. In the case of Vermeer this is difficult, for he is one of the most individualistic of European painters but Professor Thienan successfully deduces Vermeer's debt to others and the deductions are as skilfully reached as those in a good detective story. But whatever these influences were, Vermeer's strong artistic temperament made them his own with the result that he stands out as one of the most personal painters of Europe. As Professor Thienan justly remarks " Though he may have been indebted, as any painter is, to the influence of other Masters, he became through an inner development a figure of solitary grandeur, head and shoulders above his contemporaries. There were great artists before Vermeer and great artists thereafter but in his own sphere he was supreme." That sphere lay in the portrayal of the common-place things of everyday life to which he gave an " aura of peace and poetry " that transmuted them to purest beauty.

The colour reproductions are excellently chosen to illustrate Vermeer's colour harmonies at their best. The colour printing however is not so satisfactory; the colours are seen through what seems to be a pale yellow mist with resultant dimming of tones, but the charm of Vermeer's colour sense and poetic vision shines through it and will pleasantly bring back the memory of a visit to the originals in Amsterdam and London. This is an excellent handbook and it cannot fail to entice the reader to a deeper study of this most attractive of Dutch painters.

In his lifetime Gainsborough was one of England's most popular portrait painters; even the great Sir Joshua often found himself passed by in favour of his younger contemporary. But unlike many another fashionable painter, Kneller, for instance, whose fame did not outlive his death, Gainsborough remains as popular today as he was in his lifetime. A visit to Christie's on a day when a Gainsborough portrait is on sale will convince one of this fact.

This interest which has now lasted over almost two centuries has produced a vast amount of literature on Gainsborough and his work, including such standard works as those of Sir Walter Armstrong and W. T. Whitley, as well as the popular lives with reproductions which concentrate for the most part on the more glamorous portraits.

This present volume, as in the case of the volume on Vermeer, tries to compromise between these two extremes by illustrating every aspect of Gainsborough's work, his landscapes and sketches as well as the portraits, but Mr. Oliver Millar's choice of illustrations seems to stress a little too strongly the landscapes. Out of nine colour reproductions of which the best—the portrait of Anne Horton—is on the jacket and not repeated in the text, four are given to landscape. When one considers that Gainsborough painted 600 portraits and only 170 landscapes, most of which are sketches, the choice seems somewhat unbalanced; in spite of his success in landscape, Gainsborough's real claim to fame lies in his portraits—especially those of women.

Besides, Gainsborough's use of colour in his portraits is one of his most charming qualities—a monocrome reproduction giving little idea of this very essential quality.

The four landscapes illustrated in colour are of the "Brown Tree" School of the 18th Century, and are in no way noted for their colour quality.

As regards the portraits chosen for reproduction in colour, they are by no means representative of Gainsborough at his best; indeed they give little idea of the painter's real mastery of colour. It is true that most of the great Gainsborough portraits have been reproduced so frequently that they are well known, but since this work claims a certain comprehensiveness it seems strange that at least one or two of them should not be chosen for colour reproduction. Gainsborough among English painters stands supreme in his mastery of delicate colour harmonies, rather than in vigorous line or strongly opposed light and shade. Unfortunately, the pictures chosen do not illustrate this.

English girlhood and womanhood found perfect embodiment through his brush, the saying attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds on his completion of Lady Cockburn's portrait—"I shall be handed down to posterity on the hem of your Ladyship's garment"—could find an equally perfect application in dozens of Gainsborough's feminine portraits.

Many of the famous portraits are reproduced in monocrome but the eighteenth century world of fashion and beauty refuses to come to sparkling life in that dull medium.

The analysis of Gainsborough's style is very adequately done and—apart from the choice of illustration—the book is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the painter's genius both in landscape as well as in portraiture.

DANIEL SHIELDS

The Message of Fatima

THE MESSAGE OF FATIMA. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. London: Burns Oates. 1950. 10s. 6d.

The place of Fatima in Catholic attention has grown rapidly in a few years. Fatima has come to be second only to Lourdes as a shrine of Our Lady and a centre of devotion. Already the literature on the apparitions and the cult is immense. Most of it however is popular, and devotional, written by enthusiastic believers for a public equally enthusiastic. Some critical studies have appeared, and more than one commission has been appointed by ecclesiastical authority to find out if the cult may be officially approved.

But there is ample room for this book of Father Martindale, which is an extraordinarily interesting and fresh study of the whole question. It is just the book to put into the hands of any one who approaches the question with the intention of forming a definite solid opinion on it. Fr. Martindale, who has offered his book to Our Lady in a touching dedicatory letter, is a believer in the apparitions. But he is also a scholar, trained to weigh evidence, a theologian and psychologist, and he comes to the subject with a view to submit to a strict, critical examination, the primary evidence on which the cult is based. In addition to this intellectual equipment he has another useful qualification; he knows the Portuguese people and likes them. He has visited Fatima several times. He has thus a sympathy, a *connaturalitas*, in St. Thomas's sense, which gives him a new critical sense. The result is a book which is a real contribution to the literature on Fatima. The Catholic reader will get a new interest and appreciation of Fatima; and the non-Catholic will see that the Church is anything but gullible and superstitious in its attitude to alleged revelations and apparitions; he will see also that the events of Fatima cannot be written off as due to trickery or hallucination, but can be explained only by a supernatural intervention.

Though it is a short book, running to only 183 pages, and written in a personal, unpretentious manner, *The Message of Fatima* is very thorough and covers all the essential aspects of the case. The background of the three children, to whom the apparitions were made, is a considerable help towards understanding the facts; it is sketched with skill and insight. The little protagonists of the event, the three peasant children Lucia, Francisco, and Jacinta are made to live. The change produced in them by the apparitions, their spirit of prayer and penance, deep yet childlike, the trials they were subjected to, the interminable cross questionings, the cruel threats made by state officials, who were free-masons, the death of Francisco and his sister Jacintha, these are a part of the story and are told vividly. The constant sincerity, simplicity, and courage of these three peasant children make anything like deceit unthinkable.

Fr. Martindale, with much new evidence not hitherto available for English readers, at his disposal, submits the testimony of the children to a strict examination. He detects a few inconsistencies due often to persistent heckling, which do not affect the main facts. The more important and difficult question, of the meaning and value of the message of Fatima is faced with the same critical honesty. There is an inevitable difficulty in estimating the measure of truth in a supernatural communication made to a human mind. The message cannot be adequately communicated to others in the medium at the disposal of the recipient, concepts, images, feelings. The difficulty is all the greater if the recipient is of small range of culture and experience. The revelations made after the events at Fatima, to Lucia the survivor, who is now a Carmelite nun, present this difficulty acutely: how to distinguish the primitive *datum* from the adventitious accretions which may come from the

unconscious activity of the recipient's mind. This work needs a fine scalpel and a delicate balance; but Fr. Martindale is well endowed with this critical equipment. He does not pretend to solve every difficulty; but his answers and suggestions are always reasonable. In particular he thinks that the "secret," which is not to be revealed for some years, may not turn out to be anything new or remarkable in itself. He thinks that it is already partly revealed in the exhortations to prayer and penance for the conversion of sinners. It may be a like exhortation, made with greater intensity, and invested, by contemporary happenings, with increased authority.

HUGH KELLY

JESUITS GO EAST

JESUITS GO EAST. By Felix Alfred Plattner. Translated from the German by Lord Sudley and Oscar Blobel. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds. 1951. Pp. 283. 16s.

Depart Traveller, congratulate the dead
Mourn for the living, pray for all
Marvel and be silent.

THESE words were inscribed on a monument to their dead brethren erected in Pekin by the Jesuits shortly before the dissolution of the Order at the end of the eighteenth century. They may well sum up the natural reactions of a reader of this book. Page after page is packed with the story of endurance and adventure not undertaken for their own sake but with a disinterested and disciplined enterprise focussed with power and constancy on one purpose, the conversion of the East. The wealth of material at the author's disposal was abundant, perhaps almost too abundant. The reader makes again the long voyages in the little Portuguese caravels that battered their way to Goa through the storms of the Indian ocean. He climbs and crosses the Pamir plateau and the eternal snows with Desideri, Goes and Bents. He is now at the court of the Mogul, now in the castle of Osaka, now at the entrance to the Forbidden City. If none of all these travellers for God whose journeys are recorded in this book held the pen of an artist, almost all of them were articulate and painstaking; the reader may well consider their record of their explorations almost as remarkable as the range and vigour of their missionary effort. The book will open to many a whole new world, a world of colour and action, but also of disinterested idealism. The sacrifices made were remarkable but not less remarkable were the men who made them, scholars, scientists, artists, administrators but first of all priests. Even those who know the story in outline or parts of it in detail will surely find in a packed book new facts to add to the harmony of the whole great story.

The translation is at worst clear and readable. There is a good map, but it is really regrettable that at this time of day such a book appears without index or bibliography, without notes on sources or references. Many, especially nowadays when the condition of the East has at last become a matter of personal concern to every citizen of the West, would gladly go further and with such books as Rowbottom's *Missionary and Mandarin* or the Hakluyte Society's publications of the Himalayan travellers' journals give flesh to the bones of this heroic outline. It is perhaps not quite fair criticism to regret that this book is the story of heroic beginnings only. The tragic failure of the enterprise as a whole, the sad tale of the condemned Rites and the suppressed and disbanded Army, a frustration for which we are paying today so terrible a price, is likely to be forgotten or even discounted in reading

the epic of so many promising beginnings. Perhaps the Church like the nations is a little inclined to turn the searchlight of history only upon past achievements and glories and glory in heroism and hard-won victories. Such things are good and heartening to hear and read about. But failure has its lessons also and if we do not learn them the coming of the Kingdom tarries.

M. BODKIN

CONTEMPORARY JEWRY

PALESTINE UNDER THE MANDATE. By A. M. Hyamson. London: Methuen. 1950. 12s. 6d. net.

CONTEMPORARY JEWRY. By Israel Cohen. London: Methuen. 1950. 25s. net.

WHEN the average Gentile is moved to take an intelligent interest in contemporary Jewish affairs, he usually has to begin the study of them in the middle. His attention has been caught by some current event, the Nazi persecution or the establishment of the State of Israel, but he knows very little of their setting in modern history. In seeking information from modern Jewish sources, he is likely to be baffled by strange names that look as if they came from Old Testament genealogies. He will search his memory and his biblical concordance in vain for a clue to them. But he will find them all, or all except the very latest (they keep on growing like weeds), in the Index to Mr. Israel Cohen's book and a precise account of them in the text. They are products of the monstrous method of nomenclature which turns groups of initials into proper names, such as ORT, OZE, CRIF, HIAS, ICA—all names for Jewish organisations that play important parts in contemporary events. Thus ORT is the "Organisation for Reconstruction and Training," which is an English version of its original Russian name meaning "Society for the Promotion of Trades and Agriculture." Founded in St. Petersburg in 1889, "it became the "World Ort Union" in 1921, and is at present spending about five million dollars a year.

From Mr. Cohen's book the Gentile can learn what "Emigdirekt" is, what "the Joint" is, what was the precise origin and what the present purpose of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," what was its connexion with the Anglo-Jewish Association of London and with the "Israelitische Allianz" of Vienna. All these pieces of information and a great many others like them, without which the study of contemporary Jewish affairs is almost impossible, are to be found in Mr. Cohen's first three chapters. After that his book is not so useful. It is one of the usual What-the-World-Owes-to-the-Jews books, neither better nor worse than such books generally are.

In order to help the world to the right conclusions Mr. Cohen mentions very many Jews who have distinguished themselves in philosophy, literature, science, art, politics, commerce, music and medicine. He makes no critical estimate of the value of their contributions. The naiveté of his approach may be gathered from his list of Jews who were "epoch-makers". They are: Moses, Jesus, Spinoza, Karl Marx, Freud, Einstein. Most people who think that the contribution of Jewry during the Christian era has been more for evil than for good will find nothing in such selections to make them revise their opinion.

A more impressive presentation of what the world owes to the Jews is Mr. Cohen's account of what they have suffered, chiefly from Nazis, but not from them only. If the world does not examine its conscience on its collective and individual responsibility for these enormities, there must indeed be little left of Christian civilization. That much at least it owes to the Jews. But Mr. Cohen's approach is again *simpliste*. Persecution of Jews appears to him to be caused by "anti-Semitism," which he calls a poison and a plague, essentially a Christian malady, something irrational. He tells us that the Jewish Anti-Defamation League in America spends

about six million dollars a year " to combat the plague of anti-Semitism. . . . It has also enlisted the aid of psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists in the attempt to probe the causes and sources of anti-Semitism by scientific research " (pp. 300-1). He thinks that the seeds of this plague are " sown in Christian schools where children are taught a version of the Crucifixion that prejudices their impressionable and undiscerning minds against Jews for many years " (p. 303).

Mr. Cohen is a Zionist. His account of things connected with Palestine is as unreliable and as plausible as most Zionist accounts are. Because of this, people who know the facts about Palestine may be tempted to judge the whole book unfavourably. But as far as this reviewer can judge, it is seldom wrong on matters of fact, though sometime wrong in its inferences, and it contains a large amount of useful information drawn from standard Jewish reference books not always available to the general reader.

Mr. Hyamson gives the facts about Palestine as he knew them during the twenty-eight years before the end of the British Mandate in May 1948. His introductory chapter gives an interesting summary of English interest in the restoration of Palestine to the Jews, dating from seventeenth-century Puritanism and coming to its climax in that extraordinary product of politics, religion, and plain ignorance, the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Mr. Hyamson is not a novice at writing history: he has written authoritative works on the history of the Jews in England and on the British Consulate in Jerusalem 1838-1914. He has also had a hand in making the history of which he now writes, for he held the key position of head of the Palestine Immigration Department for fourteen vitally important years of the British Mandatory rule. In this most difficult position his impartiality was proved by the usual accusations from both sides of partiality to their opponents. He is a Jew, but to him this is primarily a matter of religion and, although in sympathy with the original ideal of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, he is severely critical of the political activities of Zionism which have led to the establishment of the State of Israel. He seldom passes judgment: he lets the facts speak for themselves, but he never fails to produce the facts that put the favourite Zionist sob-stories, such as that of the *Patria*, the *Struma* and the *Exodus*, in their proper background of unscrupulous political scheming.

His chapter on the Holy Places, with its account of strife among Christians, may seem exaggerated. Unfortunately, it is not. But one good effect of the Zionist threat to Christian interests in Palestine would seem to be the formation of a united front by Christians. In March 1948 all the heads of the Christian communities joined in a protest against United Nations' plan to partition Palestine, and in May following all, except those in Jewish-occupied territory, signed a protest issued by the Latin (*i.e.*, Catholic of our Western rite) Patriarch against specified Zionist outrages in Jerusalem.

His style is generally somewhat heavy: inevitably so perhaps. One seems to hear the tired voice of the Head of the Immigration Department explaining patiently for the thousandth time to some deputation of Jewish or Arab extremists that the facts are so and that no amount of propaganda can change them—knowing well that, whether he convinces them or not, they will tell their followers the same old story. His conclusion is that the British Mandate was a failure, but not one to be ashamed of.

One minor point: it was not, as he says (p. 160), in Tel Aviv but in Nathanya, twenty miles away, that Sergeants Paice and Martin were kidnapped and murdered in circumstances of brutality that severely tested the patience of their comrades. It stood the test and apparently was taken by the Zionists for a sign of weakness.

J. J. W. Murphy

LITERATURE

A CELTIC MISCELLANY: Translations from the Celtic Literatures by Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1951. 359 pp. 18s.

"SINCE the time when Macpherson exploited Celtic sources to provide a public eager for Romantic material with what they wanted, it has been the fashion to think of the Celtic mind as something mysterious, magical, filled with dark brooding over a mighty past.... In fact, the Celtic literatures are about as little given to mysticism or sentimentality as it is possible to be; their most outstanding characteristic is rather their astonishing power of imagination. The selections given below will, I hope, bear witness to this." With these words Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, who is Professor of Celtic in Edinburgh University, concludes his preface to this excellent *Celtic Miscellany*, which has been well printed and tastefully produced by Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul. In the 330 octavo pages which follow the preface, Professor Jackson translates typical passages from all six Celtic literatures, introducing each of his sections by a note on the scope, spirit, sources, and literary achievement manifested by the Celtic peoples in each of them. The sections cover 'Hero-tale and Adventure' (in which the eleven extracts are all from Irish literature), 'Nature' (mainly from Irish and Welsh), 'Love' (where all the Celtic literatures, with the exception of Cornish, are drawn on), 'Epigram' (Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic), 'Celtic Magic' (Welsh and Irish), 'Description' (Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic), 'Humour and Satire' (Welsh, Irish, Cornish), 'Bardic Poetry' (Welsh, Scottish, Irish), 'Elegy' (Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic), 'Religion' (Irish, Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Scottish Gaelic). Twenty-three pages in which sources are indicated and the pronunciation of Celtic words and names explained conclude this informative guide to the scope and spirit of the Celtic literatures. Professor Jackson's translations are his own and in accordance with the modern advance in Celtic scholarship. He has chosen prose for his versions of metrical sources. Though this will sometimes make it difficult for the reader to appreciate the true value of the original poems, the choice is wise; for prose can at least represent the matter of the original poem accurately, whereas a verse translation has to sacrifice fidelity without hope of attaining that subtle beauty of word-pattern which gives its particular charm to the work of many Irish and Welsh poets.

This *Celtic Miscellany* provides within the scope of a single volume what the reader of English had hitherto to look for (and not always find) in many different and often almost unobtainable works. Had it been available to Matthew Arnold in the middle of the last century when he was preparing his admirable lectures on the *Study of Celtic Literature*, those lectures would doubtless have been even more stimulating and certainly more securely founded than they are. Indeed for a modern writer of an up-to-date Study of Celtic Literature on Arnold's lines no better guide than Professor Jackson could be recommended.

GERARD MURPHY

DICHTUNG UND GLAUBE. Probleme und Gestalten der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur. von Wilhelm Grenzmann. Athenäum Verlag Bonn. Mk. 12.60. Literature and Belief: Problems and Figures of Present Day German Literature.

Dr. Grenzmann's study, in an Introduction, a series of monographs of notable German writers and a chapter on the literary deposit of war and post-war experiences, transcends, as indeed all good books do, the frontiers of a people and their language and has a vital interest for all concerned with Life as well as with what Dorothy Sayers calls *The Mind of the Maker* and his art of words. The author's introduction is

model of easy exposition, concise analysis and clear outlining. *Glaube* is defined somewhat too loosely, some might object) so as to explain inclusions and exclusions in the monographs which form the main body of the work. The German background is indicated—Chaos, Total War and Crisis (understood in its original sense) with their resulting tensions finding expression in the artist's work according as he is atheist, transcendental realist or Christian. These three divisions are the basis of the monograph grouping, Dr. Grenzmann's theory being that German creative literature is now, as rarely or ever before, the expresison of a World View which, when rooted in supra-rational convictions, he calls *Glaube*. That *Glaube* may include Unglaube will be obvious to readers of the chapter dealing with Thomas Mann, Kafka, Hesse and Wiechert. Dichtung is not defined by the author but it is clear that it signifies creative literature, sensitive in mood and significant in content; intellectual, emotive, evocative; the thought caught as it were, under a spell and held by the magic of form.

It is perhaps well to stress at once that the book under review does not purport to be a *History of Present-Day German Literature*. The author claims, much as Charles du Bos did, the right to a subjective approach to his subject and to an emphasis according to his affinities and he selects from the imaginative work (in this case mostly in *novel* form) of certain individuals who fall into groups. These selections are examined and interpreted for their thought content as the deposit of a *View of Life* either negative and a-christian or affirmative and near-christian or Christian (Protestant and Catholic). The author finds in present-day German writing (he is not alone in that—non-German critics have stressed it repeatedly) a quality of inexorable truthfulness which makes its most despairing and most tortured solutions significant documents of a humanity in quest of its lost self. Dr. Grenzmann seems to see poor German everyman born into a problematic world, set in a valley of decision and overshadowed by the sky of Judgment. Whether he is dealing with atheists like Kafka and his group, or transcendental realists like the brothers Junger and Carossa; with a near-Christian like Werfel or with Christians, Protestant like R. A. Schröder or Catholic like Elizabeth Langgässer, Gertrud von Le Fort, Werner Bergengruen and Stefan Andres, he brings to his treatment (as interpreter and critic) of their work a fine discretion and a broad humanity.

It is interesting that the portion of his book devoted to Christian and near-Christian writers is as long as that given to the other three groups taken together. Dr. Grenzmann is not the first or the only critic to bear witness to the significance, potential or actual, of Christian and especially Catholic writers in present-day Germany. Professor Leonard Forster of London University in his interesting booklet: *German Poetry*, 1944–1948 does so too. His survey is confined to the German lyric whilst Dr. Grenzmann, dealing more especially with the prose epic, as the vehicle of the sustained problematic, endeavours, though not very successfully, to include the lyric as well. It is one of the weaknesses of his book that lyric poetry, despite the references to it in the case of Elizabeth Langgässer, Gertrud von Le Fort and some of the others in the monograph grouping, seems relegated to the chapter on the Deposit of War and Post War Experience and shares little more than seventy pages with drama and narrative performances which, while true to the chapter heading, cannot be weighed in the same scales as the significant work passed in individual review in the monographs. This fine book with its excellent paper and printing, its interesting photographs of the authors studied and its biographical appendix and notes would, in my view, gain in balance as well as in style by the omission of the last chapter, some of the figures of which might well be given a place in one or other of the monograph chapters.

M. M. Macken

Varia

ARCHIVIUM HIBERNICUM, or Irish Historical Records. Vol. XV. Maynooth: Catholic Record Society of Ireland, 1950.

A new volume of *Archivium Hibernicum* is always welcome to students of the history of the Irish Church. This volume is doubly welcome, for it marks a new policy on the part of the Catholic Record Society. Owing to the high cost of printing, the last two volumes have been limited to 100 pages of documents; with this volume the editor has given us 150 pages, and he has filled those pages with excellent matter. Father Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., continues his important series of Miscellaneous Documents, chiefly from the Irish Franciscan archives. But the range of these documents is wide, for they cover the years 1602 to 1715 and throw light on many episodes in Irish history. Rev. F. X. Martin, O.S.A., reprints the text of an exceedingly rare pamphlet concerning the martyrdom of Father William Tirry, O.S.A., who was executed at Clonmel on 22 April 1654. The pamphlet adds some useful information about other Irish Augustinians, and the editor has added to its value by a series of learned foot-notes. Finally Father T. J. Walsh of Cork presents an item of unusual interest. For some years past the parish priest of St. Germain du Puch in the Gironde, M. l'abbé Pelette, has been collecting materials for a history of the Irish priests who studied at Bordeaux and then ministered to the French people of the Gironde. Father Walsh has been in touch with him, and has translated his notes for the benefit of Irish readers. We are given the full text of a bull which Paul V issued on behalf of the Irish College at Bordeaux in 1618, and a series of most valuable lists of Irish students and priests from a wide variety of sources. Perhaps the most valuable item in the whole article is the classified list of sources from which M. Pelette has taken his details. Here we have one more reminder of the mass of material concerning Irishmen abroad which is still hidden away in so many local French archives. It is good to know that the present Director of our National Library is engaged on a most vigorous campaign to have as many of these documents as possible made available in microfilm for students of Irish history. Meanwhile we congratulate the editor of *Archivium Hibernicum* on a most interesting volume, and we call the attention of our readers to the urgent need of giving the Catholic Record Society generous support.

Aubrey Gwynn

RESTORATION ROGUES. By Maurice Petherick. London: Hollis & Carter. pp. xi & 444. 30s.

The book is not, as its title might imply, another facetious and scandalous chronicle of the Merry Monarch's reign. It is a serious effort to lay bare the underworld of a London still without police or independent judicature. The author, with attractive modesty, says that he has tried by his industry to compensate for the missing touch of the professional historian. Certainly he has a refreshing and quite unprofessional gift for the barbed and ironic aside; but it may be doubted if his industry, which is not in question, does not occasionally lead him to explore shady lanes that lead nowhere. For those who need it, however, and there are, alas! still many, this book will give a clear and indisputable account of how fanaticism and corruption combined to hoodwink a people prepared to be deceived, and so to shed the blood of loyal subjects and martyr innocents. The Popish Plot, which is the recurring motif in all this villany, bears unfortunately only too close a resemblance to the engineered trials before People's Courts, with which Europe and Asia are to-day familiar. To expose again the ancient technique cannot be amiss.

M. Bodkin

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1950-51

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

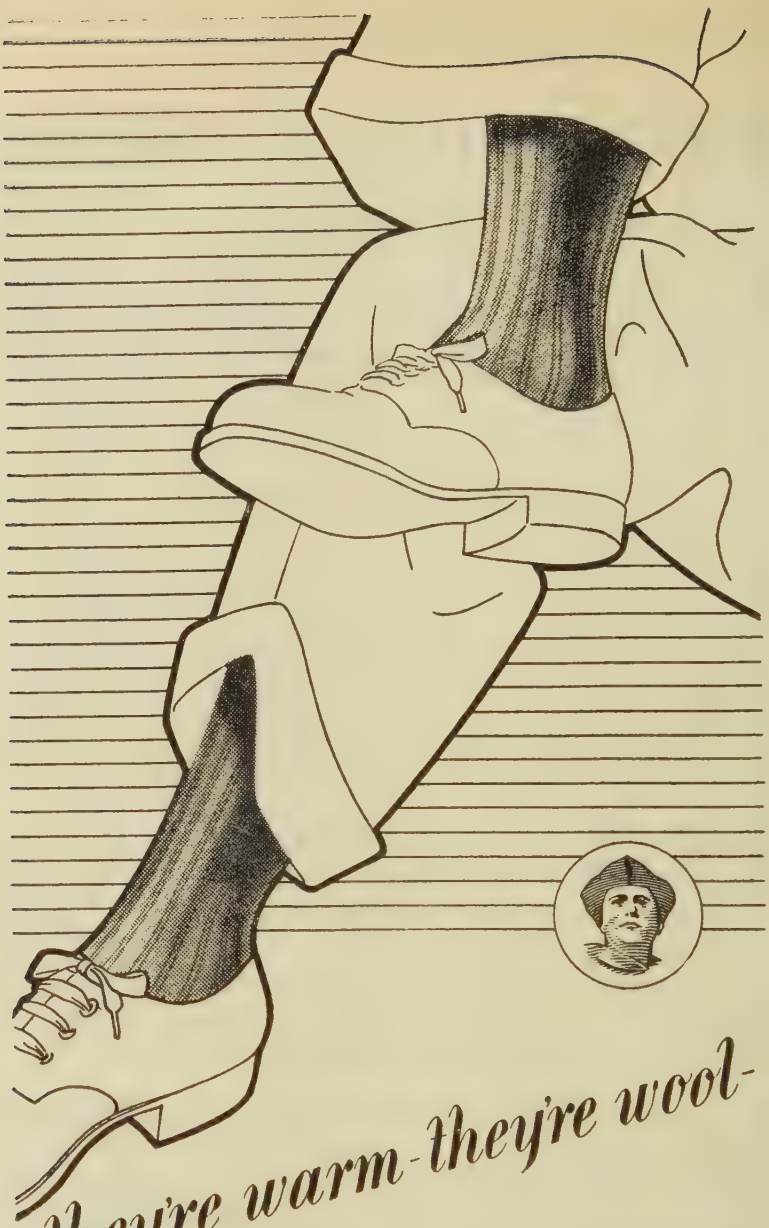
The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.



they're warm-they're wool-

they're **Wolsey**

CARDINAL SOCKS

Advertisement of Sunbeam Wolsey Ltd., Millfield, Cork

BURNS OATES

Books for RECOLLECTION *or* RECREATION

Also available:

Selected stock of Aids to Meditation, Objects of Art, Guide Books, Maps, View Cards, etc.

Post and Phone Orders promptly attended to

22 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN. *Phone No. 73115/6*

NEW **BOOKS** *RECENT*

GOD, MAN AND SATAN
by Bernard Kelly, C.S.Sp. *4/6*

JESUITS GO EAST
by F. A. Plattner *Demy 8vo. 16/-*

DAYS WITH OUR LADY
by Wm. Stephenson, S.J. *4/-*

THE SCHOOLMASTER, PARENT AND PUPIL
by Dom M. Dillon, O.S.B. *3/6*

THE GREAT MANTLE
Life of Pope Pius X
by Katherine Burton *16/-*

MORE ABOUT DOM MARMION
Translated by the Earl of Wicklow *7/6*

DIVINE PLAN FOR WORK AND WEALTH
by J. McAuley, S.M. *Cr. 8vo. 4/-*

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA
by Francis Thompson *12/6*

FATHER MICHAEL BROWNE
by T. Hurley, S.J. *Demy 8vo. 12/6*

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
by A. H. Ryan *Cr. 8vo. 8/6*

MARRIAGE—A GREAT SACRAMENT
by Chanoine Lecquerc *8/6*

NATURE AND TREATMENT OF SCRUPLES
by Dermot Casey, S.J. *2/6*

BURNT OUT INCENSE
by M. Raymond, O.C.S.O. *15/-*

WINDOW ON MAYNOOTH
by Denis Meehan *Demy 8vo. 12/6*

CLONMORE & REYNOLDS LTD.,
39 Kildare Street, DUBLIN

The Doctor's Wife

You can't be married to a busy doctor without knowing a lot about food . . . and, I can tell you, I need all my knowledge to keep my family fit these days. What with night calls, irregular hours, and going out in all weathers, a doctor has a trying time and needs lots of good nourishing food.

That's why we always get

KENNEDYS HEARTH *loaf*

Peter Kennedy Ltd. Dublin.

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order. Our Service and our Prices will please you. "Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

Have you read?

THE HISTORY OF PARTITION

DENIS GWYNN

Was the partition of Ireland part of a deliberate policy adopted by the British Government in order to keep a foothold in Ireland? Does the fact that the Unionists say "No" to every approach mean that the problem is insoluble? These and many other questions are treated objectively in this volume.

The author quotes from Nationalist and Unionist sources and documents and gives for the first time an account of the Buckingham Palace Conference. *Demy 8vo. 224 pp. Price 12/6*

Now on Sale

TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING ACTS

JOHN F. MILEY and F. C. KING, B.L.

Town and regional planning is assuming greater importance owing to the rapid housing development which is taking place on all sides at the present time. This book on the law of Town and Regional Planning in Ireland is the first authoritative exposition of the law on the subject. Lawyers, officers and members of local authorities, builders, property owners and public men will find it most valuable in throwing light on a little understood branch of the law. *Demy 8vo. 180 pp. Price, 21/- nett*

Ready shortly

HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN IRELAND

JOHN FINLAYSON FLEETWOOD, M.B., D.P.H.

The first reference to an event of medical interest in Ireland is noted in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and occurred about 940 B.C. From this start, Dr. Fleetwood brings his readers through three thousand years of history, tracing faithfully the growth of an important service and summarising its present importance in national life.

Those studying medicine, surgeons and physicians and the general public will find in this book much that is of absorbing interest.

Demy 8vo. 354 pp. Illustrated. Probable price, 18/- nett

BROWNE AND NOLAN, LIMITED

41-42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

CORK BELFAST

DOMINICAN HALL

47, 48 and 49
St. Stephen's Green
DUBLIN

HALL OF RESIDENCE

Conducted by the Dominican Nuns for Women Students of University College, Dublin.

The Hall, situated close to University College, enjoys the privilege of having a Chapel in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved and where the students may assist daily at Holy Mass.

Special Tuition is given to Students in Residence

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing their studies in University College, Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life and is an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for Fees and further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin. Chapel attached. Daily Mass. Annual Retreat. Ideal situation in close vicinity to University College.

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published Monthly. Price 2d. by Post 3d.

Annual Subscription 3s., Post Free.

Annual Subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 5s. Post Free

MADONNA

Published Monthly. Price 2d. by Post 3d.

Annual Subscription 3s., Post Free.

The Catalogue will be sent gratis and Post Free on request

Timcire an Croide Naomta

Published Quarterly. Price 2d., by Post 3d.

Annual Subscription 1s., Post Free.

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER

5 GREAT DENMARK STREET, DUBLIN

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 77770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: :.

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

The
HOUSE of ROWAN

SEEDSMEN BY POPULAR APPOINTMENT TO THE FARMERS AND GARDENERS OF IRELAND FOR OVER 62 YEARS

ENQUIRIES INVITED ON ALL SEED MATTERS
:: CATALOGUES FREE ::

M. ROWAN & CO., LTD.

Seed Merchants and Seed Growers

51-52 CAPEL ST., 1-2 WESTMORELAND ST.
DUBLIN
YEAR OF FOUNDATION 1889

FARRELL'S Telephone 73426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years. DUBLIN

HAMMOND LANE IRONFOUNDERS LTD.,

111, PEARSE STREET, DUBLIN.

We have built up an EXCELLENT REPUTATION *by producing only the* FINEST QUALITY *goods which are the result of modern methods of production and design.*

If SATISFACTION *is the keynote you must definitely ask your Ironmonger for* **"HAMMOND LANE PRODUCTS"**

Kitchen Ranges, Bedroom and Diningroom Grates, W.C. Cisterns, Pipes and Gutters, Rain Water and Soil Goods, General Castings

Wholesale only

JACKSON STOPS & McCABE

(ARTHUR W. McCABE, F.A.I., M.I.A.A.)

Auctioneers, Valuers and Estate Agents

AUCTION AND PRIVATE TREATY SALES OF ALL CLASSES OF PROPERTY, FURNITURE, FARMS AND LIVE STOCK, CARRIED OUT IN ANY PART OF EIRE

Telephone No. 77601 (2 lines)

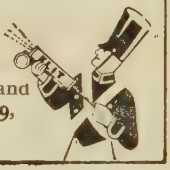
COLLEGE GREEN - DUBLIN

WASPS SPOIL YOUR FOOD

FLIT

KILLS WASPS AND OTHER INSECT PESTS

Post-war power
REDUCED price
New red, white and blue tin, 1/8, 2/9, 4/9, 18/8.



WORLD'S NO. 1 INSECTICIDE CONTAINS DDT

It pays to say ESSO FLIT

EMERALD SCHOOL READERS

A NEW SERIES

Introductory Book
Beginners' Book
Preparatory Book
Junior Book

Fully Sanctioned

FRENCH

FRENCH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION
By Very Rev. J. A. MORAN, S.M., B.A.

MON LIVRE DE FRANCAIS By Rev. J. DAWSON, S.M. (New Revised Edition)

ENGLISH

SPELLING BOOK
FIRST ENGLISH GRAMMAR
LESSONS IN GRAMMAR
ENGLISH GRAMMAR
POEMS OF IRISH HISTORY
GENERAL INFORMATION

ALEX. THOM & CO. LTD., Publishers, CROW ST., DUBLIN

Write to the

ROYAL HOTEL

W. H. CAVEY
Managing Director

All Bedrooms (45) H. and C. Modern appointments. This is the Hotel in Bray recommended by many for excellent catering and that homely atmosphere. There is a bewildering selection and plentiful supplies of Spirits, Wines, Liqueurs for you in our famous American Cocktail Bar.

Telephone :
97 Management
232 Visitors

Telegrams :
Royal, Bray

I.T.A. Grade A Hotel
A.A. and R.I.A.C. Officially Appointed.

BRAY CO. WICKLOW IRELAND

for 1949 Brochure

M. O'CALLAGHAN & CO.,
LIMITED

BUILDING
and
GENERAL CONTRACTORS

CHARLEMONT BRIDGE WORKS
DUBLIN
'Phone: 92456

The Equation of Perfection

THE BEST PILLOW IN ANY CASE

equals

EFCO DOWN & FEATHER PILLOWS

THE IRISH FEATHER CO., LTD.

34 Poolbeg St., DUBLIN. *Phone* 74908.

Cantwell's

TEAS, WINES,
ALTAR WINE,
COFFEES
(Berries or Ground)

WHOLESALE ONLY

CANTWELL & McDONALD, LTD.
12 Wellington Quay, :: DUBLIN

CLERYS

- **CLERICAL TAILORING**

  Our cutters are experts in every detail of this work. Lounge Suits, Chester Suits, Tonsure Suits, Plain and Roman Soutanes made to order.

- **CLERICAL OUTFITTING**

  Clerical Overcoats from 155/-
  Clerical Hats from 27/6
  Clerical Biretta in cashmere from 10/6
  in Irish Poplin 12/6
  Canonical Birettas made to order.
  Clerical stocks from 5/6

- **CHURCH GOODS**

  Cribs for Churches and Convents, three figures, five figures and eleven figures, all in various sizes, also *odd figures* and a large variety of *religious statues*.

- **CHURCH FURNISHING**

  Vestments, Sacred Vessels, Brassware, Statues, Woodwork, Stations of the Cross and big variety of other religious goods.

CLERY & CO. (1941) LTD. *DENIS GUINEY, Managing Director.*

McEvoys.

FURNITURE . of . DISTINCTION

NEW, SECOND-HAND, ANTIQUE
AT MOST MODERATE PRICES

LAWLOR, BRISCOE & CO. Ltd.

M.I.A.A.

34 & 35 LOWER ORMOND QUAY
DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T. W. & J. KELLY, LTD.

Oldest House for Pure Altar Wines

Price List on application

Offices and Vaults :—

58 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Telephone No.: 73095 *Telegrams : "Threekays, Dublin"*

No connection with any other firm of the same name

T. & C. MARTIN LTD.

D'Olier House, Dublin

IRISH-MADE

Church and School Furniture

Telephone
Dublin 71571 (P.B.Exch.)

Telegrams
"Martin, Dublin"

Works: **NORTH WALL, DUBLIN**

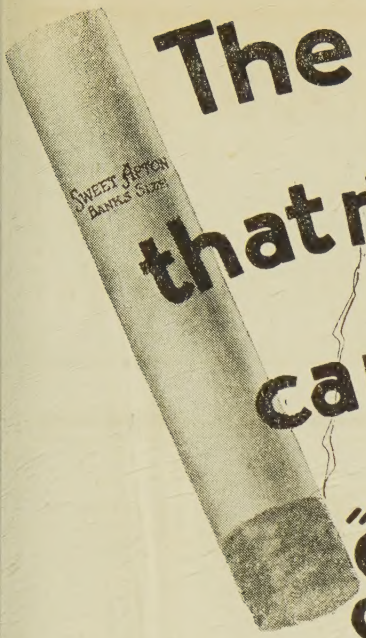
D. MURPHY LTD.

PROVISION MERCHANTS

Over half a century's reputation

25-26 MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN

PHONE: DUBLIN 75171



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"
CIGARETTES

VAUXHALL

BEDFORD
DUBLIN BUILT

CHEVROLET

Buick

Specialised Service

AND SPARE PARTS

McCairns Motors Ltd

Service Station TARA STREET DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN